

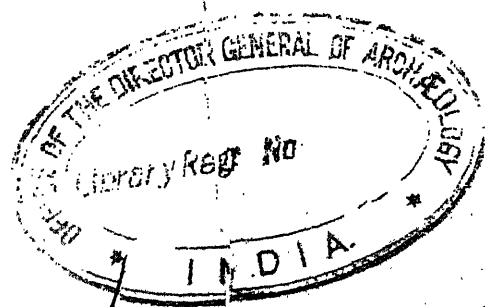
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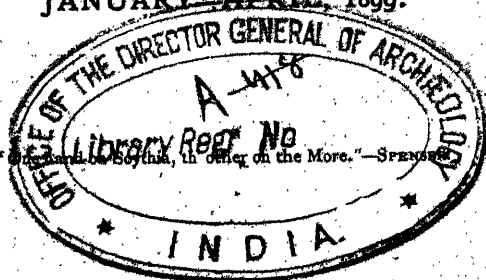
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THIRD SERIES—VOLUME VII. Nos. 13 & 14.

JANUARY—APRIL 1899.



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THE IMPERIAL
AND
Asiatic Quarterly Review,
AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD.

JANUARY, 1899.

SOME FEATURES AND EVENTS OF LORD
ELGIN'S ADMINISTRATION.

BY VISTA.

INDIA is on the eve of a change of Viceroys. It may be that the forecast of a Viceregal future is a futile exercise. We have seen it extensively indulged in in Lord Curzon's case. His appointment excited more than ordinary attention, because in many respects it was an unusual one. It has been the almost invariable habit of the Cabinet during the last 50 years to select a man of high standing in the Peerage of the United Kingdom, whereas Mr. Curzon, when selected, was but the eldest son of a peer. Again he was a much younger man than almost all, if not all, his predecessors. On the other hand, in travel, in personal experience, in unremitting study of questions of Asiatic politics and administration he is admittedly ahead of his compeers. Lastly, he was distinctly the foremost of the young men of his party.

The present century has seen six commoners (previously to Mr. Curzon) appointed temporarily or permanently to the Viceroyalty of India, viz., Sir George Barlow, Mr. John Adams, Sir Charles Metcalfe, Sir Henry Hardinge, Sir John Lawrence and Sir Henry Norman. Of these the first two were merely *locum tenentes*; the next three were permanently appointed, and subsequently raised to the peerage; while the last resigned the appointment when he

was still only Viceroy-designate. Mr. George Curzon is thus the 7th commoner who since 1805 has been selected to rule India. Elevation to the peerage followed in his, as in several of the other cases, as a natural appanage of the appointment. Sir Henry Norman when he declined a Viceroyalty undoubtedly also resigned a peerage. Whether he would have proved a successful Viceroy, need not now be discussed. As a young soldier he rendered good service before Delhi in 1857, and was nominated while yet a young man to be the Military Member of the Viceregal Council. In that capacity he had much to do with the organization of the Indian Staff Corps, and with the many changes which the transfer of India from the H. E. I. Company to the Crown entailed on the army of that dependency. A great many of those changes, as well as the manner of introducing them, were most unpopular, and that unpopularity Colonel Norman shared with the Secretary of State, Sir Charles Wood.

The withdrawal of Sir Henry Norman opened the way for the Earl of Elgin, at that time a nobleman practically unknown to the public beyond the limits of his own county of Fife. When his nomination to the Viceroyalty was notified, all that could be said of him was that he was the son of his father, who was a distinguished diplomatist and statesman and also a previous Viceroy of India. Thus in the out-going Viceroy we have the example of one who was drawn from comparative obscurity in order to assume the government of the greatest of British Dependencies.

The coming Viceroy has a very different record. His name has been prominent in the political and literary world for ten years or more. He is no stranger to the British public. The nation feels that it knows the man who is about to assume the government of India—knows him through his own acts, speeches and writings, through the familiar every-day comments and criticisms of the press and through the expressed opinions of men both of his own and the opposite party. His latest publication, "On

the Indian Frontier," is to appear shortly. It is based no doubt on the articles he contributed to the *Times* in 1894-5. Writing at the end of 1894 (see *Times* of 2nd Jan., 1895) Mr. Curzon gave it as his opinion that the Government of India made a serious mistake in not giving its N.W. Frontier officials a freer hand and freer range across the border. It will be interesting to note how far the Viceroy will endorse the views of the traveller. The hands that hold the reins of office find themselves tied by influences to which the "free lance" is a stranger. At the luncheon given to him by the Directors of the P. and O. Company on the 2nd December, Lord Curzon spoke of India as "the pivot of the British Empire," and enunciated the opinion that the loss of that dependency could only be coincident with the decadence of that Empire. Lord Curzon has wisely as a rule resisted all temptation to prophesy. The first few pages of Mr. Pearson's "National Life and Character," are a warning to all statesmen to forego that temptation. The Duke of Wellington in 1832 thought that the best days of England's prosperity were over. As we watch the events of to-day and the political, industrial and commercial progress of great rival Powers, we may be excused if at times we almost persuade ourselves that the day of Britain's decadence is dawning. *Pace* Lord Curzon, however, we hold that Great Britain, not India, is the pivot of the Empire, and we think that that is an axiom which needs no argument to prove it. At the same time it must be admitted that the loss of India would foil the plans of British statesmanship both in the Near and the Far East. Egypt would lose half its value to us, and the Grand Trunk Railway from Cairo to Shanghai would not be financed by British capital.

It is not with Lord Curzon however that we are now to deal, but with his predecessor, the man who five years ago was unknown and who has now for nearly five years sustained, with the help of a Council and Staff, the burden of the most onerous post that Her Majesty can confer on a

4 *Features and Events of Lord Elgin's Administration.*

subject. Considering that Lord Elgin was, when he assumed office, an untried ruler and administrator, it must be admitted that the Fates have laid themselves out to test him to the utmost.

Let us at once place on record that on the whole he has borne that test fairly well, and that he leaves India with a well-earned reputation for industry, fairness, and sound sense. During his term of office the North-West Frontier of India has been practically demarcated afresh from the point "where three empires meet" to the Kuh-i-malik-Siyāh in Sistan. With this demarcation there is not very much fault to find. Sir Montagu Gerard's frontier secured to Great Britain as much territory north of the Hindu Kush as could reasonably be demanded. He managed to make things work smoothly with the Russian Commissioner, and won both official and public approval accordingly. Coming to the Indo-Afghan frontier, that was demarcated in pursuance of the Durand Agreement. Many thought at the time and many still think that Kafiristan should not have been ceded to the Amir Abdurrahman. From a philanthropic point of view we entirely concur with this opinion. From a political standpoint it is more difficult to form a decision. The men who are best entitled to speak on this point are Sir William Lockhart and Sir George Robertson. It is not probable that any position that we can secure will ultimately safeguard Badakhshan from Russia ; and sooner or later, when the present Amir passes away, it will be perfectly easy for our Government in India to occupy Kafiristan. The Amir Abdurrahman Khan is only keeping the place warm for us—doing in fact what some consider the French are doing for us in West Africa and Indo-China. The same view may be taken of the frontier as settled from the district of Pishin and Quetta across the Baluch desert to Sistan. In settling this care has been taken to secure a good caravan route from Quetta to Eastern Persia. It is true that both banks of the Helmand have been left for the present to the Amir ; but

it has been our policy since 1880 to conciliate the Amir and avoid any open rupture. We have the futile wars of 1838-42 and 1878-81 before us as a warning. So a belt of desert south of the Helmand has been left him, and—we bide our time. There are few who imagine that we can any longer prevent Russia from occupying Meshed and Herat, but things have not yet gone so far as to lead us to believe that the British Government intends to allow Russia to forestall us in Sistan and South Eastern Persia. For some years past Russia has had her agents in Sistan, and some months ago established a Vice-Consulate there. Our answer has been to transfer Captain Sykes from Kirman to Sistan, while Mr. Webb-Ware watches our interests on the Baluchistan side. Nasirabad, the chief town of Sistan, is only half the distance from Quetta that it is from Ashkabad. If it is a question of placing troops in Sistan, we can certainly forestall the Russians. The Sind Frontier Cavalry Regiments are as mobile as Cossacks, or the much-vaunted but somewhat legendary Turcoman horse, and our mountain batteries and our frontier infantry will not be far behind the cavalry, if the transport and supplies are all ready, as they should be.

Turning to the other or Eastern and North-Eastern Frontier of the Indian Empire, we are unable to record satisfactory progress as regards either delimitation or exploration. It was in 1887 that our annexation of Burmah made a Burmo-Chinese frontier settlement imperative. It is still unsettled. Last winter our Commissioner was able to do nothing, thanks to Chinese obstruction, and this year the promise of attaining a better result is but small. For ten years our exploring and delimitating Commissions have been traversing the Trans-Salween Shan Provinces—for ten years the railway to Yunnan and the Yangtse Valley has been projected and widely discussed. Yet in 1898, when Russia and France have forced Great Britain to assert more definitely her rights in the Yangtse Valley, we find that nothing has been done east of the Salween. What

is the use to British interests commercially or strategically, of a railway from Mandalay to Kunlon if it is not prolonged to Chungking, the highest point to which the Yangtse is navigable for steamers? Yet at this moment parties are starting from Kunlon and Chungking to explore and survey a route for a railroad between these two points. What should have been done some time in the last ten years has still to be done now when Russia is absorbing Manchuria, and France has sanctioned a grant of eight millions sterling for the extension of her Indo-Chinese railways.

The chief interest of Lord Elgin's Viceroyalty began with the Diamond Jubilee Year of Her Majesty's reign, and has centred largely in the last two years of his rule. Coming events cast their shadows before, as the coming storm is heralded by the rolling swell of the waves.

Already in 1896 the drought foreboded famine, and the plague was rife in the crowded bazaars of Bombay.* The difficulty of dealing with it seemed to paralyze the Bombay authorities. The Municipality and the Commissioner of Police, deterred by the opposition of the natives, Hindus and Mohammedans, to any intrusion on, or interference with, their houses, had adopted no decisive plan of action. The plague was spreading, and threatening to invade the European quarters of the City, when Brigadier-General W. F. Gatacre, essentially a man of action, arrived from Quetta to resume the military command at Bombay. He determined from the first that the troops should not suffer, and so moved the two native regiments out of the Marine Lines and placed them under canvas.

There were not wanting those ready to cavil at energetic measures; but the fact remains that no case of plague

* Both India and Great Britain rose grandly to the occasion in the fight with the famine, and by the end of 1897 victory had been won. The burst of pity which swelled the Patriotic Fund in the Crimean War was equalled by the sympathy for the Queen's Indian subjects which poured hundreds of thousands into the Relief Fund of 1897.

occurred among the troops in Bombay, and when a special Plague Committee was nominated by the Governor (Lord Sandhurst), General Gatacre was selected as its Chairman. Before he left in the autumn of 1897 to assume a Brigade Command at Aldershot, the plague was almost stamped out. Its recrudescence commenced in the cold weather of 1897-98. That, doubtless, would have happened under any circumstances ; for it is in the cold weather, curiously enough, that the bubonic plague flourishes. Time and the growth of the plague rendered more stringent measures needful, and these led to riots both in Bombay and Calcutta. In Calcutta the authorities appear to have acted with a singular want of vigour, but in Bombay at least the riot was stamped out immediately. Results would seem to prove that the authorities made a great mistake in yielding to native prejudices ; but the plague had to be stamped out. The commercial loss caused to India by the plague has been very great. Many articles of export were prohibited altogether at all European ports, as well as in Australia, the United States, and the Far East. The native bankers and brokers left Bombay *en masse*. Moreover, the effect of the plague in India made itself felt in Afghanistan, Persia, and Central Asia. The Russians seized on it as a pretext for placing doctors and troops along the Perso-Afghan and Russo-Afghan borders, whereby the Amir of Afghanistan was much exercised, our trade with Persia blocked, and Russian influence in Persia extended at the expense of British.* It will thus be seen that those officials who, in dealing with the plague, showed undue deference for the blind, ignorant prejudices of a Hindu and Musulman proletariat were directly injuring the commercial and political interests of

* Unfortunately this decadence of British prestige in Persia has been going on steadily for some years, certainly since the late Shah's death. It is now close on forty years since Sir Henry Rawlinson (see "Memoir of Sir H. C. Rawlinson," by Canon Rawlinson, Chapter XII.) made way for a Minister nominated by the Foreign Office in London, and no Indian official again held that post until Sir H. M. Durand was appointed to it in 1895. This last essay has, it is said, not been attended by success.

the British Empire. In his speech at Simla, at the Farewell Banquet given to him on the 14th of October last, Lord Elgin made special reference to the work done by Lord Sandhurst and Mr. Wingate. In justice he should certainly have added the name of General W. F. Gatacre, to whom so far no mark of recognition for his plague services has been given. The question also suggests itself whether, if at the very outset the Governments of India and Bombay had decided on drastic measures for stamping out the plague, some of the subordinate officials in Bombay would have shown such want of backbone as they did.

The origin of the weakness shown in dealing with natives unamenable to hygienic laws is to be sought not in the subordinate officials themselves, but in the acts and policies of previous Viceroys and their Councils. The Ilbert Bill was a blow at British prestige in India, and a pandering to party influence from home. The toleration of the disloyalty of the Indian Native Press was the outcome of timidity. When the House of Commons suspended the C. D. Act in India, the Viceroy and his Council, and the chief military authorities in India, both those of the Executive Branch and of the Military Department, acquiesced without a protest. When two female purists later on visited India and blazoned to the world that the fiat of the House was being tacitly ignored, the great officials at Simla bowed their heads before them. Not a man among them had the pluck to stand up and protest against a contemptible act of folly. It was not until the Army had suffered, to the extent of a brigade per annum, that common-sense gained the victory over faddism.

When criticisms are passed on a Viceroyalty, it must always be borne in mind that it is the Viceroy in Council, and not the Viceroy alone, who is being weighed in the balance. It is impossible to specify any single Member of Lord Elgin's Council who has in any way made his mark during the past five years. It was that Council which Mr. Thorburn bearded in the Town Hall at Simla last

June. We can picture to ourselves the scene—the discreet lecturer and the complacent Council on the platform, and in the body of the hall the sea of keen faces, soldier and civilian. When Mr. Thorburn rose to speak, he put into words the views of nine-tenths of that audience. They applauded him. The speech is now historical. It has been translated into Pashtu and circulated among the border tribesmen. It has drawn from the Secretary of State for India a despatch forbidding officials to criticize the policy and actions of the Government they serve. It prompted questions in the House of Commons which were met by evasive replies. It was felt that the abandonment of the Khyber and the Khyber Rifles was an incident about which “the least said” was “the soonest mended.”

The North-West Frontier Bluebook of 1898 tells nothing to those who cannot read between the lines. The one and only attempt at an official defence of this incident was the injudicious and ineffective impromptu into which the Financial Member of Council was drawn there and then by Mr. Thorburn's attack. As the Military Member of Council was sitting on the platform, if any reply was to be made to an attack on a point of military policy, surely the Military, and not the Financial, Member was the man to make it. Of the two officials primarily responsible for the abandonment of the Khyber to the Afridis, while 10,000 British troops looked on, it is on the Civilian and not on the Soldier that the onus has fallen. In fairness they should have shared it. What Englishmen in India really felt about this affair finds expression in the following verses, which appeared in the *Pioneer* of July last, by “X.”:

“Tantæne animis Cœlestibus Iræ?”

“The little tin gods on the mountain-side.”

KIPLING.

“The little tin gods numbered six or seven,
The eldest born came straight from heaven;
One could fight; one could build; one gave legal advice;
One ruled the Home Farm; and one kept all the pice:
But when there was anything serious a-brew,
They held council together, like the great gods do.”

"The little tin gods held placid sway,
They batted and fattened and drew their pay;
The land wasn't rich, but they made a show,
And they fancied themselves no end, you know;
Till they meddled with matters beyond their ken
And raised the wrath of the little hill-men.

"The little tin gods got horribly riled,
They thought they had settled 'that troublesome child':
'We'll smash them up and burn their nest,'
Said the little tin gods; and they did their best.
They got dolefully beaten; 'but where's the odds?
We won't let on,' said the little tin gods.

"So a lecture was read: the gods went in strength,
The 'official version' was set forth at length.
What was nice was said, and at special request
The veil of decorum was drawn o'er the rest:
And the gods to each other said *sotto voce*,
'It was really absurd to blame you or me.'

"And all had been made most plain and neat,
When an utter outsider got on to his feet;
He laughed at the gods without shame or ruth,
And what was still worse, he told them the truth,
Drawing it out, and rubbing it in,
Till it made the spectators perceptibly grin.

"Then a tin god rose, he rose in his wrath,
He poured the vials of his anger forth,
He called him this and he called him that,
And he growled like a terrier shaking a cat:
Till the senior god remarked, 'At first
I really thought the monsoon had burst.'

"Then, it being time for dinner and bed,
The other gods' speeches were 'taken as read.'*
* * * * *
Since then the gods play Canadian tennis
By day, and at night there's the 'Merchant of Venice';
But they still are heard to remark *inter se*,
'It was really absurd to blame you or me.'"

* Refers to the remarks which the *ad interim* Commander-in-Chief and the military member of Council intended to contribute to the discussion that followed Colonel Hutchinson's lecture. Mr. Thorburn's attack and Sir James Westland's reply left no time for the delivery of other remarks. They were "taken as read."

This incident is now apparently at an end, but it is one that can never be recalled without deep regret. The jirgahs of the Afridis have met General Egerton and Mr. Cunningham, and have accepted the terms offered them by the Government of India. All considered those terms are equitable and judicious, at once conciliating the Afridis, securing the rights and interests of the Government of India, and making no uncalled-for concessions. India can afford to leave the country of the Afridis absolutely independent, provided that the control of the Khyber Pass on the north, and the Kohat Pass on the south, remains in the hands of our officials and troops. The conduct of the Khyber Levies, even under the severe temptation of deliberate abandonment, has been such as to fully justify the Government of India in re-entrusting the duty of keeping the Pass open to the Afridis. Indeed, this *amende honorable* is the just desert of so gallant and loyal a corps. In its new organization it has a guarantee that it will not again be left to fend for itself in the hour of need.

In the new arrangements for the better control of the Khyber route nothing definite is heard about a railway. However, there is every reason to suppose that a railway will before long be constructed as far as the Afghan frontier. We want no repetition of the history of the Sind-Peshin line—begun in 1880, abandoned by the Gladstonian Cabinet in 1881, recommenced by the same Cabinet in hot haste and regardless of expense and completed in 1885, and some years later discovered to be hopelessly unreliable. The Bolan line had been built and swept away some years before. The Mashkaf line is now completed and in working order. Thus three lines have been made where one should have sufficed. It is a remarkable record of labour and money wasted. Our policy now demands a railway to Kabul as well as to Kandahar, but the financial interests of India demand that the line constructed shall be made well and once for all. For the present it can only be completed as far as Landi Kotal; but the ultimate destination of the line must be Kabul.

The momentous nature of the events of the last two years of Lord Elgin's Viceroyalty and the prominent place that they still occupy in the public mind have seemed to give them a claim to prior consideration. It is not that the earlier years (1895 and 1896) are without incident or interest. In 1895 a member of the reigning dynasty of Afghanistan for the first time paid a visit to England. On the part of the British and Indian Governments and of our Royal Family every effort that courtesy, hospitality and goodwill could suggest was made to welcome the visitor. Unfortunately he was not qualified, either by breeding, tact, understanding or intuition, to appreciate or show his appreciation of all that was done for him. We must, it is true, make some allowance for his upbringing and youth, although these do not account for his absolute lack of good taste and manners. The man himself was wanting. Dignity and gentlemanly bearing are by no means foreign to the Barakzai princes. The Amir Abdurrahman Khan is said both to possess these qualities himself and to value them in his children. This being so, we can only wonder that his own instinct and the experience of European society and etiquette which his intercourse with Russians and Englishmen had gained for him, did not warn him that Sardar Nasrullah Khan was not the man to select for a visit of ceremony to Her Majesty's Court and kingdom. If the visit was intended to cement more friendly relations between Afghanistan and Great Britain, it was a failure.

In 1896 it was found necessary to support General Kitchener's operations on the Nile by sending an Indian contingent to Suakin. Subsequently a keen discussion arose concerning the payment of the cost of this contingent. Lord Salisbury's Cabinet decided that the Indian Exchequer should pay for its maintenance. This decision was not received without strong demur. When, however, we consider how vitally important it is to India that Egypt and the Red Sea should be under British control, there appears

to be no unfairness in asking the Indian Government to pay some share of the cost of military operations in that quarter. In his speech in the House of Commons on the 26th January, 1867, urging the despatch of an expeditionary force to rescue King Theodore's prisoners, Sir Henry Rawlinson used the following words: "It would seem only fair that India should pay a moiety of the (Abyssinian) war, as she did in the case of the China and Persian Wars." We certainly think that India may very well contribute her share to all military operations which enhance her security and prosperity. She is "the pivot of our *Eastern Empire*," and every political, commercial or industrial advantage that the Mother Country wins either in the Near or the Far East will redound directly or indirectly to her benefit.

When we look back on the events of 1897, we may be forgiven if we feel that the shadow of a curse must have rested on India during that year, the year of Her Majesty's Diamond Jubilee. What should have been an epoch of happiness was a period of disaster. Famine, pestilence, disaffection, murder, war and earthquake, combined to mar the Jubilee of one of the best and noblest of Queens and women. That is now passed: 1898 has for India been a season of comparative calm.

The great political interests of the year have centred around China, Egypt, the United States, and Spain. If we cannot look back to the frontier fighting of 1897-98 with unmingled satisfaction, we can at least be proud of the grand soldierly qualities displayed both by officers and men. The splendid defence of the Malakand position under the command of Brigadier-General (now Sir William) Meiklejohn, was the most successful episode in the fighting. For gallantry in life and unto death the name of Colonel Haughton of the 36th Sikhs will, we trust, be long remembered. No better soldier fought in the Tirah campaign. The whole of that frontier fighting from first to last was, as far as British interests go, the purest waste of

blood and money. Much heroism was displayed, but not a few reputations were buried. A veil has been drawn over the graves of those reputations. Let us not disturb it.

We will rather, now that the old Viceroyalty is drawing to its end—and that an honourable end, for all men feel that Lord Elgin is a man who has conscientiously tried to do his duty and succeeded—we will rather pass onwards from the disappointments of the past to the seemingly bright promise of the future. No Viceroy could enter on his duties under better auspices than does Lord Curzon. All men and parties have wished him God-speed, and India has sent him her message of welcome. As it happens, he will, when he assumes office, find himself surrounded by officials almost as new to their posts as he himself will be, from the Commander-in-Chief and the Financial Member, the Foreign Secretary, and the Adjutant and Quarter-Master Generals down to many of the humbler bureaucrats. We think that a little new blood is wanted in Simla, more especially in the military circles. We know already—for Lord Curzon has himself alluded to them in his recent speeches—several important points to which his attention will have to be directed—to wit, finance, railways both inland and frontier, the Commissionership of the North-West Frontier, and last, not least, the watch and ward of the vast frontier of India from the coast of Mekran along the borders of Persia, Afghanistan and Tibet away to China, French Indo-China, and Siam. There is a Upas-tree, which though as yet but half grown, threatens to overhang India and year by year extends the area of its shade. It already overshadows Afghanistan. The time will come when its obtrusive branches will have to be pruned. One of the duties of Lord Curzon will be to check their overgrowth by the most approved method of diplomatic arboriculture, and at the same time to have the pruning-hook sharp and ready for use. His personal acquaintance with the Amir of Afghanistan cannot fail, we would hope, to facilitate the maintenance of friendly relations between that ruler and the

Government of India. A friendly and united Afghanistan is impervious to the subtle influences of the Upas-tree, and stunts its growth. It may throw out shoots (such as the Merv-Kushk railway) within its own limits, but it cannot transgress those limits. It at present finds a better opening for growth towards Persia, where the monarch is weak, the Government effete and corrupt, and the influence of British diplomacy sunk to a low ebb.

There is one other point to which no doubt Lord Curzon will give his attention during his Viceroyalty. He has himself discussed it in his work on "Persia." It is the Indo-European railway. Russia is the first in the field, with a line from the Atlantic eastward to the Pacific. This northern route has the advantage of economising distance. The central route will have the advantage of traversing Central Europe, the Mediterranean basin, India and Central China, the most populous, productive and prosperous belt of the earth's surface. The overland route from Europe to the East has till now been in British hands. If it is to remain with us, we must devise and construct a railway that will not only rival but out-rival the Trans-Siberian route. The project is surrounded with difficulties, political and geographical. It is one which a Viceroy of India may be proud to advance; for such a railway, built by British enterprise and capital and under British control, will be a mighty rivet to link together our globe-encircling Empire.

THE PRESS IN INDIA: ITS ORIGIN AND GROWTH.

BY G. PARAMASWARAN PILLAI, B.A., M.R.A.S.

THE Indian press has been so prominently before the public both in Great Britain and in India during the latter half of last year and the early part of the present year that it may not be uninteresting to inquire into the origin of the press in India and how it attained its present position and influence in the country. Unlike the press in England which since its emancipation in 1695, has always been free, the press in India has had a chequered career. The press came into existence in India with the publication of the first newspaper in English in 1780. In 1799, it was subjected to a severe censorship which was removed in 1818; nevertheless, several restrictions were imposed on it and these were completely removed only in 1835. From 1835 to 1857, the press was absolutely free but in the latter year, a "Gagging Act" was passed which again was repealed in the following year. In 1877, however, the Vernacular Press Act came into force which was cancelled five years afterwards and the press enjoyed full liberty till the present year when the "Sedition Acts" were introduced. Roughly speaking, the history of the press in India may be divided into four periods: the first extending from 1780, the year of the birth of the first newspaper till 1835 when the press was completely emancipated by Sir Charles (afterwards Lord) Metcalfe: the second dating from 1835 till 1857 when the "Gagging Act" was passed by Lord Canning: the third commencing from that year and ending with the repeal of the Vernacular Press Act in 1882 by Lord Ripon: and the fourth covering the period from 1882 up to the present time.

FIRST PERIOD (1780-1835).

The first newspaper started in India was published at Calcutta on the 29th January, 1780, and was known as *Hicky's Gazette*. As its name implies, one Mr. Hicky

was its Editor, and according to a Calcutta Reviewer, "the whole picture of Anglo-Indian society at this period was a very bad one, and society must have been very bad to have tolerated *Hicky's Gazette*." Personal slander comprised a large portion of the newspaper. Even Warren Hastings the first Governor-General and the dignitaries of the Supreme Court were severely attacked, while Colonels, missionaries and beautiful young ladies just arrived for the marriage mart were all mercilessly dealt with. Of course there was no press law to deal with the Editor of the first newspaper, and the attempt to punish him was more summary. In one of the issues of his paper, the Editor thought it "a duty incumbent on him to inform his friends in particular, and the public in general, that an attempt was made to assassinate him last Thursday morning between the hours of one and two o'clock by two armed Europeans aided and assisted by a moorman." No doubt Mr. Hicky had a narrow escape, but we do not know what became of him subsequently and his *Gazette*. However, we find that during the administration of Lord Cornwallis another paper had sprung up, the *India Gazette*, which had a more favourable opinion to give of contemporary Anglo-Indian society. It congratulated its readers on the fact that the "pleasures of the bottle and the too prevailing enticements of play were now almost universally sacrificed to the far superior attractions of female society." In politics, we are told the paper was "not merely strongly Whiggish," but "approached to the radical party," and that it was distinguished for its general "gentlemanlikeism"! In 1794 a third newspaper, called the *Indian World*, was started by an Irish-American named William Duane. Mr. Duane had published in his paper a number of improper and intemperate articles, and the way in which he was dealt with by the Government of Sir John Shore would be amusing were it not despotical. On the 27th December, 1794, Mr. Duane was requested by Capt. Collins, the Private Secretary to Sir John Shore, to call at

Government House. Mr. Duane thought it was an invitation to breakfast at the Governor-General's table, as he was about to leave the country. He was prompt in answering the summons, and when he met Capt. Collins in Government House the following conversation ensued :

Capt. Collins : I am glad you are so punctual, Mr. Duane.

Mr. Duane : I generally am, Sir ; I hope the Governor-General is well.

Capt. Collins : He is not to be seen, and——

Mr. Duane : I understood I was invited by him.

Capt. Collins : Yes, Sir, but I am directed by the Governor-General to inform you that you are to consider yourself a state prisoner.

A number of soldiers at a given signal burst upon the scene, and with drawn bayonets surrounded Mr. Duane, who saw through an open door the Governor-General and two members of the Supreme Council sitting on a sofa.

Mr. Duane : I did not think, Sir John Shore, or you, Sir (turning to Capt. Collins), could be so base and treacherous as to proceed or even to think as you do——

Capt. Collins : Silence, sir—(To the soldiers) Drag him along, you pig-eating scoundrels.

Mr. Duane : You are performing the part of Grand Vizier now, my little gentleman, and those are your mutes. Calcutta is become Constantinople, and the Governor-General the Grand Turk.

Under strict guard, strongly armed, Duane was kept in Fort William for three days, and then taken on board an armed *Indiaman*, and conveyed to England, where he was set free without a word of information or explanation. It is said that the Court of Directors “highly approved” of this summary proceeding.

During the administration of the Marquis Wellesley, Sir John Shore's successor, certain restrictions were for the first time imposed on the liberty of the press. In 1799, when the Marquis happened to be in Madras, he wrote privately

to Sir Alfred Clarke in Calcutta as follows : " I shall take an early opportunity of transmitting rules for the conduct of the whole tribe of editors ; in the meantime, if you cannot tranquilize this and other mischievous publications, be so good as to suppress their papers by force and send their persons to Europe." This threat was immediately put into action. The following rules soon saw the light : (1) Every printer of a newspaper to print his name at the bottom of the paper. (2) Every Editor and proprietor of a paper to deliver his name and place of abode to the Secretary to Government. (3) No paper to be published on a Sunday. (4) No paper to be published at all until it shall have been previously inspected by the Secretary to the Government or by a person authorized by him for that purpose. (5) The penalty for offending against any of the above regulations to be immediate embarkation to Europe. Since the publication of these rules, a close watch was kept over the press. In 1801, the Editor of the *Calcutta Gazette* was ordered not to publish anything relating to the army unless it had previously appeared in the Government Gazette. In 1811, the proprietors of all presses in Calcutta and its dependencies were directed " to cause the names of the printers to be affixed to all works, papers, advertisements, etc., printed at or issuing from those presses on pain of incurring the displeasure of Government." In 1812 all advertisements, excepting those relating to sale, purchase, hire and notices in general, were ordered to be submitted to Government for inspection. In the succeeding year, the restrictions were made even more rigorous, and the following new rules were framed : 1. That the proof sheets of all newspapers, including supplements and all extra publications, be previously sent to the Chief Secretary for revision. 2. That all notices, handbills, and other ephemeral publications be in like manner previously transmitted for the Chief Secretary's revision. 3. That the titles of all original works proposed to be published be also sent to the Chief Secretary for his information, who will thereupon either sanction the

publication of them or require the work itself for inspection as may appear proper. 4. The rules established on the 13th May, 1797, and the 6th August, 1801, to be in full force and effect, except in so far as the same may be modified by the preceding instructions. In or about the year 1816, the propriety of making the press free was constantly debated by the members of the Supreme Council. The annihilation of all other European powers in India had emboldened the Government to discuss the advisability of taking such a step. At last, in 1818, the censorship was abolished, and the following new rules were substituted: The Editors of newspapers are prohibited from publishing any matter coming under the following heads, viz. : 1. Animadversion on the measures and proceedings of the Honourable Court of Directors or other public authorities in England connected with the Government of India, or disquisitions on political transactions of the local administration, or offensive remarks levelled at the public conduct of the members of the Council, of the Judges of the Supreme Court, or of the Lord Bishop of Calcutta. 2. Discussions having a tendency to create alarm or suspicion among the native populations of any intended interference with their religious opinions or observances. 3. The republication from English or other newspapers of passages coming under any of the above heads or otherwise calculated to affect the British power or reputation in India. 4. Private scandal and personal remarks on individuals tending to excite dissension in society. The Court of Directors, however, did not approve of the measure, and submitted a despatch to the Board of Control ordering the censorship to be re-established, but the Board is said to have never returned the despatch.

* The restrictions imposed on the press reduced the newspapers of the day to mere receptacles for colourless advertisements, innocent extracts from English papers, shipping arrivals, details of balls and fêtes, and republications from the Government Gazette. Soon there came upon the

journalists of the day a feeling of revolt, and Mr. Buckingham, the Editor of the *Calcutta Journal*, took the lead by criticising the conduct of the authorities. In 1819, Mr. Buckingham was warned for attacking Mr. Elliot, Governor of Madras, and for insinuating that the Madras Government tried to check the circulation of the *Calcutta Journal*. Mr. Buckingham, however, continued to write boldly, though he was continually warned for trespassing on the dangerous ground of criticism. In November, 1821, Mr. Buckingham wrote as follows in the course of an article on the freedom of the press : " Such is the boon of a free press in Asia, with which the world has rung for the last three years, and the praise of those who knew not what awaited it, is not even yet at an end. Such is the salutary control of public opinion on supreme authority and the value of a spirit, to be found only in men accustomed to indulge and express their honest sentiments." This paragraph called forth the ire of the bureaucracy in India, and the members of the Governor-General's Council resolved upon the deportation of Mr. Buckingham. But the Marquis of Hastings had publicly declared that a good Government had nothing to fear from public criticism, and he overruled the decision of his council. Mr. Buckingham, however, was not permitted to remain long in the country. On a subsequent occasion he offended Bishop Middleton by the publication of a letter on the duties of Chaplains, and Mr. Buckingham was informed that " if he continued this course of conduct, his license to reside in India would be at once annulled, and he would be required to furnish security for quitting the country at the first convenient opportunity." Mr. Buckingham again set the rules at defiance. When it was announced that a " tyrannical " Madras Governor was to hold office for a further term of one year, he published his paper with a mourning border. He was at once deported from the country by Mr. John Adam, who succeeded Lord Hastings temporarily.

The Court of Directors considered deportation a bad

remedy for violation of the press rules, on the ground that it "has an arbitrary character, the Governor who resorts to it acting in the threefold capacity of accuser, judge and executor of his own sentence" and recommended the reimposition of the censorship; but the Board of Control on 5th April, 1823, refused to interfere. In the meantime, several newspapers came to be started in Bengal, Bombay, Madras and other places in India. The first native newspaper was started on the 29th of May, 1818. It was printed and published at the Serampore press and was styled the *Samachar Durpan*. The Marquis of Hastings admitted copies of it into his council, and allowed it to be circulated at one-fourth of the ordinary postage, and Lord Amherst subscribed for more than a hundred copies on behalf of Government. Some attacks upon the Hindus in the columns of the *Durpan* led to the publication of the *Cowmoody*, of which Raja Ram Mohan Roy became one of the Editors. The Raja, however, was a reformer, and he condemned certain rites and ceremonies of the Hindus, which led to the publication of a third paper called the *Chandrika* by one of the gentlemen who was on the staff of the *Cowmoody*. A fourth native paper was started in 1831, under the title of *Gyanangashen*. The number of newspapers edited by Englishmen was, of course, much larger. The Bengal *Hurkuru* was started as a weekly journal in 1795, and it appeared as a daily on the 27th April, 1819. The *Hurkuru* was the first daily paper published in India. It is said that the *Hurkuru* was "thoroughly radical in its principles," and adopted Bentham's motto of the "greatest happiness of the greatest number." On the 1st October, 1834, the *India Gazette* and the *Bengal Courier* were amalgamated with the *Hurkuru* and the *Hurkuru* itself merged in the *Indian Daily News* of our day, in 1864. The *Calcutta Government Gazette* was another of the papers started during this period. In 1831, it changed its name to *Calcutta Courier*. The verdict passed on it was that "it lacks dignity; where commerce,

steam, or figures are concerned the leaders of the *Courier* are able and accurate; but in treating political or local questions of moment, they are frequently charged with flippancy, dulness, or self-sufficiency." *John Bull of the East* was established in 1821, which subsequently changed its title to *John Bull*. Its conductors declared that "it arose amid the storms and contentions in society which the *Calcutta Journal* was engendering, and it came professedly as an antidote to the poison disseminated by that print." In 1834, its title was changed to the *Englishman*—the *Englishman* of our own day. The Editor of *John Bull* also conducted a paper devoted to sports, the *Sporting Magazine*, of which it was said "no tiger dies but his fall is here registered. No boar is speared but the event is here detailed, etc. In a word, this is the most popular periodical that ever issued from the Calcutta press." We see also at this period glimpses of the existence of the *Friend of India*, which subsequently merged in the *Statesman* of our day. A temperate article having appeared in its columns against the practice of Suttee, Mr. Adam, one of the Members of Council proposed that the *Friend* should be suppressed, but the Marquis of Hastings refused to interfere, as he saw nothing objectionable in it. In an article in the *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine* for 1833 written by the Editor of *John Bull*, the following journals are enumerated as having existed in Bengal at the time:

DAILY: *Bengal Hurkuru and Chronicle, India Gazette, Calcutta Courier, John Bull.*

TRI-WEEKLY: *Bengal Courier, Indian Register.*

BI-WEEKLY: *Calcutta Gazette.*

WEEKLY: *Literary Gazette, Oriental Observer, Bengal Herald, Reformer, Philanthropist, Engineer, Gyanangashen, Samachar Durpan.*

MONTHLY: *Calcutta Monthly Journal, Bengal Sporting Magazine, Christian Intelligencer, Christian Observer.*

ALTERNATE MONTHLY : *East India United Service Journal.*

QUARTERLY : *Calcutta Magazine and Review, Bengal Army List.*

Several newspapers were also started in Bombay. The first English newspaper in Bombay came into existence in 1789, under the style of the *Bombay Herald*. In the following year, the *Bombay Courier* was started. In 1791, the name of the *Bombay Herald* was changed into the *Bombay Gazette*, which, however, ought not to be confounded with the *Bombay Gazette* of the present time. In 1822, the Bombay Government established a printing-press of their own, and the *Bombay Government Gazette* was first published on 6th August, 1831. The *Bombay Courier* continued to exist for fifty-six years, when it was amalgamated with the *Bombay Telegraph*. The *Bombay Gazette* ceased to exist in 1842. Mr. Stocqueler, an Anglo-Indian journalist, describes the condition of the press in Bombay about this time in the following words : " There were but two papers extant at the time, and very comical things they were. The *Bombay Courier* and the *Gazette*, composed almost entirely of selections from English papers and an occasional law report. The pen of the Editor seldom found nobler occupation than the record of a ball and supper, or a laudatory notice of an amateur performance. Once only did an Editor (Mr. Fair of the *Bombay Gazette*) venture to insert an article personally offensive to the recorder, Sir Edward West, and he paid the bitter penalty of his experience to a clique of discontented barristers. . . . The Government deprived Fair of his license and he was deported." The first native newspaper started in Bombay was the *Bombay Samachar*, of which Mr. Murzaban was the Proprietor and Editor. It was published on 1st July, 1822. The Government of Mountstuart Elphinstone subscribed for fifty copies. The paper, which was at first a weekly, became a bi-weekly in 1833 and a daily in 1860.

In September, 1830, another native paper, the *Mumbai Karkman*, was started, and in 1832 the *Jami-Jamshed* was published.

The earliest papers that were started in Madras appear to be the *Commercial Calculator*, the *Madras Advertiser*, the *Madras Gazette*, and the *Madras Courier*. In 1817, the Editor and Proprietor of the *Circulator* complained to Government that a newly-established paper, the *Advertiser*, published "literary, scientific, or miscellaneous articles," which it was prohibited from publishing. The *Advertiser* was at once warned. The *Madras Gazette* "was called to account" for having advertised a French Government lottery at Pondicherry; and the Chief Secretary to the Madras Government expunged, in a proof-sheet of the *Madras Courier*, a political article on the affairs of Spain! The attitude of Government towards the press at the time is indicated by the opinion of Mr. Elliott, Governor of Madras, who recorded in a minute that "the principal objects of those who desire the freedom of the press are to disseminate the worst political doctrines of the times, to bring the constituted authorities of Europe and Asia into contempt, and to provide profits for lawyers from prosecutions of libels in Courts of Justice." The *Meerut Observer* was probably the first English newspaper published in the United Provinces. There was also a magazine at Meerut called the *Meerut Universal Magazine*, commonly called "M.U.M.," though it was by no means mum in its character. Several years later appeared the *Agra Akhbar*, which, besides publishing brilliant leaders, recorded "growls from subalterns and complaints from beautiful young ladies, disappointed widows, and manœuvring mothers."

In the early days of the Indian press, Government servants freely contributed to newspapers and became both Editors as well as Proprietors. An amusing story is told of how one of the contributors to the *Mountain Wreath*, a paper which was started at Mussoorie and died a premature death, waited to see the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-

West Provinces. The literary contributor, who happened to be an officer in the army, accompanied by another officer, went to pay their respects to the Lieutenant-Governor. His Honour happened to be absent at the time of the visit, but returning after some time, the gray-headed *Chaprassie* announced that there were two gentlemen waiting to see the *Burra Saheb*. "Where are they?" inquired His Honour, vainly gazing at the middle of his room. "*Dekho Sahib*" ("See, sir"), exclaimed the Mahomedan attendant, pointing to two corners of the room, in one of which was the literary contributor, standing on his head, his uniform making his attitude more ridiculous; and in the other stood his brother officer in a similar position, both seemingly determined not to be deprived of amusement while waiting for a Lieutenant-Governor! We also learn that that great literary Lyncurgus, Macaulay, though a contributor to English periodicals, never cared to contribute anything to local journals. That may at least partly account for the hostility of the journals of the day to Macaulay. We find the *Calcutta Monthly Journal* writing as follows in defence of Macaulay: "We appeal to the experience of everyone who has been in the habit of reading the papers whether, for three years, the whole artillery of the press, from the great guns of the *Hurkuru* and the *Englishman* to the little swivel of the *Gyanangashen* has not been directed against him with a degree of vehemence and perseverance unexampled in the history of the Indian press."

Like that of the press itself, the liberty that officials enjoyed in contributing to it was curtailed, as the press developed in power and influence. In June, 1822, the Government of India issued an order prohibiting officers in the service of the East India Company from writing in the newspapers any personal matters touching the posts held by them, although they were at liberty to contribute other news or articles. But on 11th May, 1826, the Court of Directors issued a Resolution prohibiting Govern-

ment servants from having any connection whatever as editors, proprietors, or contributors with any newspaper. The Indian press was also greatly hampered by the exorbitant postal charges for inland delivery. The post office, under a notification published in England, refused to deliver a newspaper at any distance under half a rupee. In spite, however, of all these restrictions the press in India continued to grow and develop in power and influence. The blow that the press received by the deportation of Buckingham was followed by greater liberty to the press accorded by Lord Amherst. Lord William Bentinck permitted the press even greater latitude, and declared it to be a powerful adjunct of Government. Lord William is reported to have said "that he had derived more information from the Indian press of the real state of the country, than from all the Councils, all the Boards, and all the Secretaries by whom he was surrounded." On the 15th September, 1833, Sir Charles Metcalfe, Lord William Bentinck's successor freed the press absolutely from all restrictions.

SECOND PERIOD (1835—1857).

The beneficent act of Sir Charles Metcalfe was commemorated by a Free Press dinner which took place on the 9th February, 1838. One hundred and ninety-six gentlemen sat down to dinner. Sir Charles Metcalfe was placed at the head of the table, and several toasts were enthusiastically proposed. The liberty accorded to the press in India was not, however, viewed favourably by the Court of Directors. On 1st February, 1836, the Court of Directors reprimanded the Governor-General in Council for passing the Act which they considered was "in opposition to all our previous orders, to the solemn decisions both of the Supreme Court at Calcutta and of His Majesty's Privy Council delivered in both cases, after full arguments on both sides of the question, to the recorded opinions of all preceding Governments of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay; and more especially to the carefully considered measure of

Lord William Bentinck and Sir Frederick Adam for extending the Licensing Regulation to Madras." They considered also that the passing of the Act without reference to them was wholly indefensible, and went to the length of saying "we would be prepared at once to avail ourselves of the power entrusted to us by Act of Parliament and disallow your new law when passed, were we not aware that the immediate repeal of such a law, however ill-advised and uncalled for its enactment may have been, might be productive of mischievous results." It was fortunate that the Court of Directors did nothing to interfere with the liberty of the press beyond holding forth a threat.

Encouraged by the freedom now accorded, several fresh newspapers were started throughout the country. The following papers existed in Calcutta in 1847 :—

DAILY : *Hurkuru, Englishman, Calcutta Star.*

WEEKLY : *Serampur Friend of India, Eastern Star, Christian Advocate, Hindu Intelligencer, Bengal Catholic Herald.*

FORTNIGHTLY : *Calcutta Literary Observer, Christian Observer, Christian Intelligencer.*

MONTHLY : *Freechurchman, Oriental Baptist, Oriental Observer, Calcutta Review.*

The *Calcutta Review* was started in May, 1844, by Sir John William Kaye, K.C.S.I., and a contemporary writer in noticing it in 1845 said, "Literature in India may be said to be in a state of inaction with the exception of one *Review* which leviathan like plays about in the torpid pool." The Bengali publications of Calcutta in 1848-49 were sixteen in number, and they were sold at a monthly subscription varying from one rupee to two annas. The *Friend of India* observed at this time that the main object of the native journals, published in the native language by natives who had not embraced Christianity was to subvert the popular system of idolatry !

Several papers were also started in Bombay. The *Bombay*

Times of January 2, 1847, published the following interesting information: 1838-40—*Gazette*, *Courier*, *Times*, *Oriental Christian*, *Spectator*, and *Herald*. 1841—*Gazette* died. *U. S. Gazette* came into existence. 1843—*U. S. Gazette* died. The *World* and *Gentleman's Gazette* established. 1844—The *World* died and the *Witness* was established, 1846—*Courier* and *Witness* died and *Telegraph* established. 1847—*Times*, *Gentleman's Gazette*, *Telegraph* and *Courier* and *O. C. Spectator*. The name of the *Gentleman's Gazette* was in 1849 changed into *Bombay Gazette*—the *Bombay Gazette* of the present day. The *Bombay Times* became *Times of India* during the editorship of Mr. Knight, who succeeded Dr. Buist. The vernacular journals in existence in Bombay in 1853 were the *Bombay Samachar*, the *Bombay Chabook*, the *Bombay Jami-Jamshed*, the *Veppa Samachar*, the *Samachar Durpan*, the *Rast Goftar*, the *Parsi Reformer*, and the *Akbal Arai Sadagur*. The *Jami-Jamshed* was started in 1832, and the *Samachar Durpan* in 1840. The *Rast Goftar* was started as a weekly in 1851 by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. The *Advertiser*, the *Chronicle*, and the *Free Press* flourished in Kurrachee.

The Madras newspapers that were in existence in 1847 were :—

DAILY : *Madras Atlas*.

TRI-WEEKLY : *Spectator*, *Athenæum*, *Circulator*.

BI-WEEKLY : *U. S. Gazette*, *Crescent*.

The *Athenæum* was founded by Pharoah in 1837-38 and the *Spectator*, by James Ochterlony. These were the earliest of South Indian journals. The *United Service Gazette* was a favourite among the military, when under the management of Captain Langley. The *Crescent* was started by Gazulu Lakshminarasu Chetty. Another journal started in Madras during this period was the *Madras Native Herald*, which was a great authority on educational questions. There was a *Madras Miscellany* in 1840 which the now defunct *Metropolitan* of London spoke of as the "sun

of Madras" which "rarified and sublimated the intellect." But the *Miscellany* was too sweet to last.

Three papers existed in the North-West Provinces; the *Gazette*, the *Meerut Mofussilite*, and the *Benares Recorder* all published bi-weekly. Other papers that were published at the time were *Saunders' Monthly Magazine*, which had a "galaxy of talent" as its contributors, the *Delhi Gazette*, the *Agra Messenger*, and the *Meerut Review and Magazine*. At the end of the year 1848 there were seventeen lithographic presses in the North-West Provinces from which newspapers in the native languages were issued. The Mussalmans were the chief patrons of periodical literature in the North-West. Their newspapers were known by such curious names as *Throne's Ornament*, *Light of the World*, *Light of the Seraglio*. And one paper called itself the *Chief of Newspapers, valuable to good people, but a scourge to the wicked*. Those were said to be days "when men wrote for pleasure more than for profit; when mofussil life was a happy hard-riding, hard-drinking, devil-may-care kind of existence; when hospitality flourished and friends could be trusted. They were good old times, and some autumn fruit still lingered unplucked upon the now barren pagoda tree."

But the press in India had still its traducers. The evidence given before the Committee of the House of Lords on the government of Indian territories, on the subject of Indian newspapers, was injurious to the press in India. Mr. John Stuart Mill, in his evidence before the Committee, said, "A most erroneous view of English society in India would be taken were it judged by the press, that newspapers in India are of little use to Government, unless in promoting inquiry, and that the English newspaper press in India has little to do with natives or the interests of the country." On the 17th November, 1852, Dr. George Buist, editor of the *Bombay Times*, presented a petition to the House of Lords correcting the false impression which the public might have received from the evidence

on Indian newspapers given before the Committee. But the press did not enjoy its liberty long. In 1857, the year of the great Indian Mutiny, Lord Canning passed an Act fettering the press, which was known as the "Gagging Act."

THIRD PERIOD (1857—1882).

"The Gagging Act" was passed in the Governor-General's Legislative Council on the 13th June, 1857. Under this Act all proprietors of presses were required to take out licences, which were granted on the following conditions :—

1. That no book, pamphlet, newspaper, or other work printed at such press or with such materials or articles shall contain any observations or statements impugning the motives or designs of the British Government, either in England or in India, or in any way tending to bring the said Government into hatred or contempt, to excite disaffection, or unlawful resistance to its orders, or to weaken its lawful authority or the lawful authority of its civil or military servants.

2. That no such book, pamphlet, newspaper, or other work shall contain observations or statements having a tendency to create alarm or suspicion among the native population of any intended interference by Government with their religious opinions and observances.

3. That no such book, pamphlet, newspaper, or other work shall contain observations having a tendency to weaken the friendship towards the British Government of native princes, chiefs, or states in dependence upon or alliance with it.

In the despatch that Lord Canning sent to the Court of Directors soon after the passing of the Gagging Act, he strengthened his position by quoting the opinion of Lord Harris, who happened to be the Governor of Madras at the time. Judging from the tone of the minute, he wrote on the 2nd May, 1857, there was no one more opposed to the liberty of the Indian press at the time than Lord Harris. Says he : " I have been three years in India, and during

that period I have made a point of keeping myself acquainted with the tenor of the larger portion of the British press throughout the country, and I have no hesitation in asserting my impression to be that it is, more particularly in this presidency, *disloyal* in tone, *un-English* in spirit, and *wanting in principle*, seeking every opportunity, whether rightly or wrongly, of holding up the Government to opprobrium, not so scurrilous certainly as portions of the press in the colonies, but utterly regardless of correctness in statement. A disease of this nature should be kept under command, not by repression, but by the application of a cure on sound principles. The liberty of the press is a most important and vital principle in the best interests of humanity, and cannot on any account be interfered with ; but that freedom has been won and granted for the purpose of eliciting truth, not for disseminating falsehood. The propagator of untruth or of misrepresentation should be made responsible for his statement ; the burden of proof should be thrown upon him either as proprietor or editor, and on failure the act should be penal in an ordinary court." On the 20th June, 1857, Lord Harris forwarded to the Governor-General two copies of the *Examiner* which were said to be full of seditious matter. This newspaper, he added, was the mouthpiece of the Roman Catholic priests, and is "probably supported by the money paid to them by Government, and since enlarged allowances have been granted to the Bishop, it has been issued on three days in the week instead of as previously on two."

The "Gagging Act" was put into operation soon after it was passed, and several newspapers were suppressed, prosecuted, or warned, as the case may be. A Calcutta journal was warned for reprinting articles from the London press, and the editors of Bombay and Poona journals were written to by the Secretary to Government of India, cautioning them against admitting articles from English newspapers into their columns. The editor of the *Friend of India* was warned for having written an inflammatory article under the

title, "The Centenary of Plassey." Subsequently the editor had to resign to avert the wrath of the Governor-General. The editor of the *Bangalore Herald* was compelled to resign for having reproduced the article on the "Centenary of Plassey." The *Bangalore Herald* was also warned by the Madras Government for copying an article on Lord Canning from the *Calcutta Comus*. The *Hindu Intelligencer* was snuffed out. The *Madras Examiner* was warned for copying an erroneous statement from the *Hurkuru*, and making certain comments on it touching the position of an official. It was warned a second time for having continued the publication without registering afresh after its foreman was changed. The *Dacca News* was warned by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal for an article headed, "The Tenure of Land by Europeans in India," which contained some disagreeable truths extensively copied in other journals. The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal also forwarded a copy of this paper to the supreme Government for having made use of the expression, "an unscrupulously rapacious Government." The *Rangoon Chronicle* was asked not to publish any articles connected with the affairs of Bengal without submitting them first to the magistrate at Rangoon. The *Englishman* was also warned. The *Hurkuru* had its license taken away, but it was restored after a month. The *Mofusilite* was placed under the censorship of the Lieutenant-Governor of Agra, and one of its issues appeared with the following significant editorial—"The editor proposes, the censor disposes." In Akyab a private merchant had his lithographic stone taken away because he introduced political remarks in his commercial circular. The *Jami-Jamshed* was suppressed by the Bombay Government. The editors of three native newspapers, *Sultani-Ul-Akhbar*, *Doorbin*, and *Samachar Sooderthushen*, were prosecuted by Government for using seditious language. Two of the editors pleaded guilty, and were bound down in their own recognizances to appear when called for. The third was acquitted.

The "Gagging Act," however, was in force only for a year. In 1858, when the horrible crisis of the Mutiny was over, and everything had quieted down, the Act was repealed. During the Viceroyalty of Lord Lawrence an attempt was made to establish a Government organ, and negotiations were opened with the editor of the *Englishman*, but nothing came of the attempt, as the Government refused to grant any subsidy for the purpose. In the meantime, fresh newspapers came to be started in India, and the number increased with great rapidity. In 1875 there were 155 English, 254 Vernacular, and 69 English and Vernacular papers published in different parts of India, as the following list will show :—

	English.	Vernacular.	Eng. and Ver.
Bombay	35	62	21
Madras	36	23	25
Bengal	35	59	5
N.-W. P.	9	59	5
Punjab	10	30	1
Oudh	4	7	8
Central Provinces	3	4	2
British Burmah	14	5	0
Sind	9	3	1
Rajputana	0	2	1
Total	155	254	69

In Bengal the *Indian Mirror* was started in 1861, the *Bengali* in 1862, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* in 1868, and the *Statesman* in 1876. The *Hindu Patriot* was started so long ago as 1853. It is amusing to note that in its introductory article in its first number the *Bengali* wrote as follows: "We belong strictly to the famous order of mild Hindus. If we show fight, it will be in real Bengalee fashion, under a wholesome dread of bloody noses and broken heads, with one foot in the field and another in the stockade, calling lustily upon our gods to help us whilst we vigorously help ourselves to fly. This is perhaps a disheartening revelation for our friends, but we cannot help making it, seeing that we are not bound to eat fire against

every known precedent of our race. We purpose to make up, however, for the want of brute courage by a strenuous use of our lungs." In 1886 the *Indian Public Opinion* and *Punjab Times* was published, first as a bi-weekly, and afterwards a daily, continued for ten years, and then merged into the *Civil and Military Gazette*.* The *Civil and Military Gazette* was started as a weekly in Simla in 1872. The *Pioneer* was started in Allahabad during Lord Mayo's administration, and was first edited by a covenanted civilian named Girdlestone. In Madras the *Madras Times* was the earliest of living papers started, and it was edited for some time by Mr. James Hutton. "Mr. Hutton's connection with this presidency," wrote the *Madras Mail* in 1877, "was brief, and his retreat was not quite glorious, but he gave us a taste of mature editorial qualities, and if he had not fallen foul of the Duke and Mr. Coleman, he would probably have been still among us; but he lost his temper with those personages, and the *Madras Times* and the Presidency lost him in consequence." The *Madras Standard* was started in 1858, and the *Madras Mail* in 1867. The *Madras Rising Sun* was founded and edited by Venkatarayalu Naidu, alias Abboy Naidu. In 1867 the *Native Advocate* was started, and in 1871 *Native Public Opinion* put in its appearance. It was not until 1877 that the *Hindu* was started. Two papers existed at Ootacamund—the *Neilgherry Excelsior*, edited by Mr. Kenrick, and the *South of India Observer*, by Mr. James Ochterlony. The *Bangalore Herald* put in its appearance in Bangalore in 1862, and it changed its name to *Bangalore Spectator* in 1868. On the West Coast the *Western Star* was started in 1864, and the *Cochin Argus* in 1868.

Till the year of the Mutiny the repressive laws enacted by Government were framed chiefly with reference to newspapers edited by Anglo-Indians. The native press was

* *Indian Public Opinion* was issued at Lahore, "to represent the desires and wishes of every section of the inhabitants, whether European or Native, and to furnish provincial news, and direct information from every civilised and semi-civilised country in which a paper was published."—*Ed.*

then little known, and it was only in 1857 that three native editors came to be prosecuted for the first time. Even then the press in India was not divided as native and Anglo-Indian. At the Free Press dinner in 1838 "the Chairman, Mr. Longueville Clark, said that the man who is opposed to the freeing of the Indian press must be the foe to enlightening the natives." But with the growth of the native press, and the development of native journalism, the interests of Anglo-Indian and native editors came to be different, and the Government began to entertain greater fear from the criticism of the native press, while they gradually enlisted the sympathy of Anglo-Indian editors, till at last, in 1877, Lord Lytton, believing that there was great danger in permitting Vernacular newspapers edited by native gentlemen to criticise the acts of Government freely and unrestrainedly, passed the Vernacular Press Act. The following were the checks which this Act introduced in the case of newspapers in oriental languages :

Firstly.—The Magistrate may, with the previous sanction of the Local Government, require the printer or publisher of any such newspaper to enter into an agreement, binding himself not to print or publish in such newspaper anything likely to excite feelings of disaffection to the Government or antipathy between persons of different races, castes, religions, or sects, and not to use such paper for purposes of extortion. The Magistrate may further require the amount of this bond to be deposited in money or securities.

Secondly.—If any newspaper (whether a bond has been taken in respect of it or not) at any time contains any matter of the description just mentioned, or is used for purposes of extortion, the Local Government may warn such newspaper by a notification in the Gazette, and if, in spite of such warning, the offence is repeated, the Local Government may then issue its warrant to seize the plant, etc., of such newspaper, and when any deposit has been made, may declare such deposit forfeited.

Thirdly.—As the provisions regarding the deposit of

security and the forfeiture of the deposit would perhaps be found to press unduly on some of the less wealthy newspaper proprietors, clauses have been inserted, enabling the publisher of a newspaper to take his paper out of the operation of this portion of the Act for such time as he pleases by undertaking to submit his proof to an officer appointed by the Government before publication, and to publish nothing which such officer objects to.

These restrictions were considered odious by the people at large, and were cancelled by Lord Ripon, who succeeded Lord Lytton as Viceroy, and the press was once more set at liberty in 1882.

During this period the right of Government servants to contribute to newspapers was also restricted by Lord Northbrook. Till 1875 servants of Government were at liberty to own or edit any newspaper in the country. In July, 1875, Lord Northbrook enforced the following restrictions:

1. No officer in the service of Government is permitted, without the previous sanction in writing of the Government under which he immediately serves, to become the proprietor, either in whole or in part, of any newspaper or publication. Such sanction will only be given in the case of newspapers or publications mainly devoted to the discussion of topics not of a political character, such, for instance, as art, science, or literature. The sanction will be liable to be withdrawn at the discretion of the Government.

2. The Government of India will decide in case of doubt whether any engagements of officers with the press are consistent with the discharge of their duties to the Government.

3. Nothing in this resolution is intended to relax the provisions of any regulations on the subject which now apply to the army.

FOURTH PERIOD (1882—1898).

Since the liberation of the press again in 1882, newspapers enjoyed complete freedom till the present year. Of course, during the administration of Lord Lansdowne, the

Official Secrets Act was passed, which prevented the publication of confidential State documents in the newspapers, but it did not restrict in any way the liberty of the press. But last year the Government of India resolved to restrict the liberty of the press in India, and instead of introducing a special Act for the purpose or re-enacting the Vernacular Press Act, they embodied the necessary changes in the Indian Penal and Criminal Procedure Codes. The laws relating to defamation and sedition have been made more rigorous in their application, and editors of newspapers have been placed at the mercy of Magistrates, who have the right to call upon any editor to produce security for good behaviour. The number of newspapers both in English and in the Vernacular languages has increased greatly since 1882. There are now eighteen dailies in India, of which five are edited by natives of the country. According to the last report on the "Moral and Material Progress and Conditions of India," there were in 1896-97 647 periodicals in Bengal, one of which, a periodical in Bengali, was edited by two Hindu ladies, 123 Vernacular newspapers in the North-West Provinces and Oudh, one English paper and three Vernacular papers in Assam, 181 newspapers and 19 periodicals in Bombay, and 111 newspapers in the presidency of Madras. A total of a thousand newspapers is certainly not large when the extent and population of India are taken into account, but, considering that the press in India is only about a century old, the progress may be reckoned as remarkable.

FROM THE PAMIRS TO PEKIN: ACROSS ASIA WITH SVEN HEDIN.

BY SIR JOHN JARDINE, K.C.I.E.

IN these two handsome volumes,* meant for the general reader, the Swedish traveller gives what he rightly calls "a plain account of his journeys through Asia" and his more memorable experiences. The style is picturesque as well as clear; and thus in keeping with the illustrations that adorn the pages. Details of scientific research and linguistic discoveries are left for later publication, along with the 121 yards of map-sheets, showing 6,520 miles of marches in mountains and deserts, now being worked out at the famous institute of Justus Perthes at Gotha. The ordinary reader is assuredly the gainer by this sifting of matter. But the geographer and the statesman will not be content without clearer means of comparing Hedin's achievements with those of earlier travellers in the same parts.

Our author explains elsewhere that having no love for sport he gave up his spare time to researches which he recorded daily, *e.g.*, a vast number of names of places never yet marked on any map, European or Asiatic. He thus differs from most recent visitors to the Pamirs who, as Lord Curzon tells us, were attracted chiefly by the pursuit of *Ovis Poli*. In another respect also Sven Hedin is unlike many writers on the affairs of Central Asia. He eschews politics: and it is only by the passing events of his days in Russian territories or Chinese that we can infer something about those systems of Government with which Lord Curzon and Carey deal.

The narrative, by avoiding deep problems, is in our opinion more delightful, more likely to arouse the desire of

* "Through Asia." By Sven Hedin. With nearly 300 illustrations from sketches and photographs by the author. 2 vols. Methuen and Co.

the "general reader" to wander among the scenes which Hedin's pen and pencil paint so well. Imagination, eager always to embody the forms of things unknown, often inspires men to travel. This faculty it was which in 1894 drew the Viceroy-Elect of India to the Pamirs: he was moved by a passage in Burton's "Anatomy of Melancholy," beginning, "I would examine the Caspian Sea," and ending, "I would find out with Trajan the fountains of Danubius, of Ganges and of Oxus." To Lord Curzon, the waters of the Oxus descending from "his high mountain-cradle of Pamere, from the hidden Roof of the World, told of forgotten peoples, and whispered secrets of unknown lands."

The same feeling must have animated many of those older missionaries, warriors, and traders whom religion, chivalry, or commerce impelled to distant regions. We learn from the Venerable Bede that in his day it was quite a common practice for the better sort of laity in our island, as well as the clergy, to make a voyage to the Eternal City; and in a much later age, according to Chaucer, who knew all about pilgrimages, the wife of Bath, besides visiting the famous shrines of Cologne, Santiago, and Rome, had been three times at Jerusalem. His "verray perfight gentil knight" had made war in Africa and Asia Minor, as well as in Spain and Russia. But it was not in Europe only that this love of adventure was found. In the early centuries of our era, pious Chinamen crossed the desert, returning with cartloads of Buddhist scriptures. Fa-hian, Sung Yun, and Hwen Thsang, all the three at different times traversed the Pamirs; but then the veil fell over those desolate mountains, to be lifted only, after the lapse of six centuries, by that famous Venetian, Marco Polo. For later travels, in which most nations have furnished recruits, the limits of space require us to refer merely to Hedin's chapter on explorers. A map ought to have been added, showing the journeys of the Russian soldier Przhevalsky and the Bombay Civil Servant, Mr. A. D. Carey. Northern Tibet, the Desert of Gobi, and

other regions beyond the Caspian Sea are still little known.

“Even the maps of Africa cannot now show a white patch of such vast extent as occurs under the name of Tibet on our maps of Central Asia.”

Until the Russians had pushed their conquests eastward, the old vague geography, limited to those classic and romantic names found in the ancient charts, might almost have been stated in the language of Milton :

“As when a vulture, on Imäus bred,
Whose snowy ridge the roving Tartar bounds,
Dislodging from a region scarce of prey,
To gorge the flesh of lambs or yeanling kids,
On hills where flocks are fed, flies towards the springs
Of Ganges or Hydaspes, Indian streams ;
But in his way lights on the barren plains
Of Sericana, where Chinese drive
With sails and wind their cany-wagons light ;
So on this windy sea of land, the Fiend
Walked up and down alone, bent on his prey ;
Alone, for other creature in this place
Living or lifeless to be found was none.”

These lines of the poet are, to my mind, a fair epitome of the routes, the scenery, the peoples, and the incidents of life in those forlorn lands to which Sven Hedin devotes his 1,200 pages. Prose fails to infuse the sense they breathe of the bitter mountain air, the gleaming glaciers, the icy paths where his horses fell into ravines, the solitudes of moving sand which he had to travel day by day, in danger from hunger and thirst, from robbers and wild beasts, the pastures where he rested with the shepherd tribes as he journeyed on towards the great wall of China. Hedin, as we shall presently see, was the equal of Milton's vulture in endurance and perseverance. He lived a long while with the Khirgiz nomads, a single European, eating their food and speaking their language ; and once in northern Tibet, as Carey had done before him, he and his little caravan wandered about for two long months without seeing traces of other human beings. In an earlier march towards the Khotan-daria, having missed his last follower, he had

to walk alone for some days in the dreary desert, in peril of life, meeting no one. Yet amid constant hardships and risks, he held on his way, unslackening in the aims with which he started, and successful in the end. This result naturally raises the question, What were the special qualities and endowments to which his reward is due? To this inquiry Hedin's own direct statements afford a partial answer. The rest is inference from what we read by the way. It becomes manifest that Hedin is in many respects a traveller of the God-fearing Scottish type, like David Livingstone and Mungo Park, gentle, slow to wrath, averse to the use of force, and just in his dealings. It was natural, therefore, that he should gain the hearty goodwill, not only of the Russian officers, who respected his intentions and pluck, but also of simple shepherds, and chiefs, and mandarins, whose tempers sometimes required a prudent study. The way was smoothed by knowing the Turki, Persian, and Russian languages. He had prepared himself, as he tells his patron, the King of Sweden, by two journeys to Persia and Central Asia in the years 1885-86 and 1890-91 respectively, after which for several years he occupied himself with the topography of Central Asia, partly at home and partly at the University of Berlin, under Baron von Richthofen, the celebrated authority on Chinese geography. To all this acquirement by means of thorough study of what was already known, he added that rare and enviable talent of deliberation, which Lord Kitchener of Khartum has displayed in working out his two victorious campaigns. Mr. Fletcher Moulton, M.P., has told us of a celebrated mathematician who said that if his life depended on solving a particular problem in five minutes, he would devote at least two to considering how to set about it. Hedin observed the same method and tactics, steering by his maps and compass, leaving nothing to hazard. A leader so good-humoured, resourceful, and courageous soon won the trust of his followers. On starting from the Russian station of Margelan in Fergana, he engaged, among others, one

Islam Bai, a brave and faithful man, who throughout the entire series of journeys proved himself a servant worthy of such a master.

"When he first came to me, I was a perfect stranger to him, and he had no conception of the real object of my journey. Nevertheless he willingly left his peaceful home in Osh, to share with me all the dangers and perils of a protracted journey through the heart of Asia. We travelled side by side through the terrible desert of Gobi, facing its sand-storms in company and nearly perishing of thirst; and when my other attendants fell by the side of the track, overcome by the hardships of the journey, Islam Bai with unselfish devotion stuck to my maps and drawings, and thus was instrumental in saving what I so highly prized. When we scaled the snowy precipices, he was always in the van, leading the way. He guided the caravan with a sure hand through the foaming torrents of the Pamirs. He kept faithful and vigilant watch when the Tanguts threatened to molest us. In a word the services this man rendered me were incalculable. But for him, I can truthfully say, that my journey would not have had such a fortunate termination as it had" (p. 102).

When Hedin returned from Peking, viâ Kiakhta, Baikal, Irkutsk and Kansk to St. Petersburg in something like peace and comfort, Islam Bai was with him as far as Urga, whence he departed homeward and was welcomed by his wife and family. King Oscar has since honoured his fidelity with a gold medal.

Our traveller's success was also materially aided by the dumb animals, who returned his esteem and regard. At Charkhlik, near Lop-nor, he had to part with his three camels, because they needed rest in pastures green.

"For months they had tramped with the endurance of Stoics through the terrible desert sand, had stalked with majestic gravity through the primeval forests of the Tarim, had forded rivers and morasses without showing any sign of fear, never complaining, seldom occasioning difficulties, but often quickening our courage by their imperturbable calmness" (p. 916).

It was hardest to part with his own riding camel, who understood Hedin well.

"Whenever the man approached him, whose duty it was to lead him by the rope through his nostrils, he screamed angrily and snorted; but after he found out that I never touched the rope, he gave me a very different reception. He allowed me to pat his nose and stroke his face, without manifesting the least resentment."

This camel sometimes woke him up with a regular poke with his nose to get his daily gift of maize bread. We read also a good deal about three dogs who at different times belonged to the caravan. The last went home with his master, and now dwells in comfort in a Russian town close to Sweden. With the animals Hedin beguiled his weary hours. He also made much use of tobacco; and like Livingstone musing on holy things in the heart of the Dark Continent, he stuck to his Bible and psalm book as his highest solace.

Seeing that these volumes deal chiefly with personal experiences, we have tried to bring out the traits of the man. It is time now to sketch the various tours, for when Hedin had travelled via Orenburg, Lake Aral, Tashkend and Kokand to his starting-point of Margelan, the headquarters of the Russian Governor of Fergana, who helped him to equip, he had already changed his original plans, for the idea of crossing the Pamirs on his way to Kashgar. I may remind the reader that Margelan is the little fort from which in 1891 Colonel Yonnof starting with a thousand Cossacks marched right over the Hindu-Kush as far as the Baroghil pass, where he came into collision with a small Afghan outpost. After the conquest of Kokand, Russia laid claim to the Pamirs as a dependency of that Khanate; and in pursuance of this policy Yonnof built and garrisoned the Fort Pamir on the river Murghab. In spite of all that Yonnof and his officers told him of the perils of the way, our pilgrim set forth on February 24, 1894, and after difficult travelling in the Alai mountains reached that fort on March 18. He was warned never on any account to separate himself from his caravan, as in a snow-storm it would be impossible to get back to it.

"The air becomes thick and black with blinding flakes. Nothing can be seen, nothing; you have hard work to see even the horse you ride. To shout is useless, not a sound can be heard."

Towards Langar they had to cut steps in the ice and strew them with sand.

"I myself," says Hedin, "crawled several hundreds of yards on my hands and knees, whilst one of the Khirgiz crept close at my heels, and held me in the more perilous passages. A fall in any of those places would have meant instant death. In a word, it was a desperate journey, dark, cold, awe-inspiring."

The bitter cold was intensified by the searching winds of which the Earl of Dunmore felt the effects as he drew nigh to Murghabi, by which name the Russian camp at Fort Pamir was known in November, 1892. The Earl of Dunmore, writing in 1892, says :

"I never felt anything to equal the cold on these Pamirs: the slightest breath of wind seems to pierce one to the very bones."

He had come from the south and reached Fort Pamir by way of the Alichur valley, which Hedin visited after he had returned from Kashgar, and describes in Chapter XXXI. Both the travellers saw the spot on the Alichur river where, on the 22nd June, 1892, Yonnof and his escort shot down the men of the Afghan troop, whose great coats, all blood-stained and hacked with marks of swords and bayonets were still lying on the ground when Dunmore passed. Hedin rode by their "simple grave, surrounded by a stone wall. Some rags of felt and the poles of the tent they had lived in still remained. We took some of the latter to make our fire of, in spite of Yehim Bai's protests, that it was sacrilege to plunder a grave." But here we have anticipated, as Hedin's map of the Pamirs, based on Lord Curzon's, fails to show his tours in order of time. It was on March 18, 1894, that he first saw Fort Pamir "at a distance, the Russian flag flying from its north-west corner, proclaiming the sovereignty of the Czar over the Roof of the World. When we drew nearer we saw that the ramparts were beset with soldiers and Cossacks to the number of 160 drawn up in line. They gave us a cheer of welcome," and the weary traveller was received by Captain Saitseff and his officers, with the same cordiality that Lord Dunmore found in that lonesome fortress, "11,850 feet above the level of the sea, far removed from

the bustle and noise of the busy world, in the very middle of Asia." The nearest neighbours are wild sheep, wolves and eagles; and as in our Indian cantonments, the one great excitement of the garrison is the weekly mail. It seems that in the whole extent of the Russian Pamirs there are not more than 1,300 persons, chiefly Khirgiz and Tajiks, some of whom have been attracted over the Chinese and Afghan bounds, "by the improved conditions of living, the result of the Russians' wise and humane treatment of the native populations of Asia." This casual remark of Hedin's confirms the views so clearly set forth by Lord Curzon in the last chapter of his "Russia in Central Asia":

"Russian Central Asia is indeed one vast armed camp, and the traveller who in the course of several weeks' journey scarcely sets eyes upon a Russian civilian, comes away with respect for the discretion, but without much surprise at the peaceful attitude of the people. When the Russians boasted to one, as they habitually did, of their own popularity as contrasted against British odium in India, I could not help remembering that I had seen a great Indian city of 80,000 inhabitants, and a hotbed of idolatrous superstition, held in peaceful control by four English civilians, without the aid of a single red coat."

Russia has given security by abolishing brigandage and the slave-trade. She has impressed the people by a show of overpowering military strength and a certainty that she will never retreat. Whereas, to quote Mr. Carey, who speaks highly of the Chinese civil government, China has no military strength in Turkestan that can for a moment resist the advance of European troops. Russia is conciliatory with the natives, who even in the Chinese territories beyond find their interests, personal and commercial, protected by those *aksakals* or native consular agents of whom Carey, Bonvalot, and Hedin often speak.

Still, Mr. Schuyler in his thoughtful work on Turkestan has pointed out some rocks ahead; and it would be an inquiry of the highest interest whether the Russian military officers display the same varied talents and aptitude for the work of civil government, which most Indian civil servants, who like myself have served alongside them, have admired in

the Indian military civilians, a class to which belong many of the most illustrious men of our Indian history. Are the countries between the Caspian and the Hindu-Kush as well governed as the Deccan, the Punjab, Burma or Kattywar? and how do Muscovite generals compare with our Resident at Aden, or our Chief Commissioner of Uganda, satraps over both civil and military affairs?

Chapters XVI. to XXXIV. are devoted to the Mustaghata and its glaciers, and occupy the time between April 7 and October 19, 1894, during which he thrice tried to reach that mountain summit, 25,600 feet in height. Leaving Fort Pamir, and marching towards the rising sun, he stayed two days with the forty Cossacks who garrison Fort Rangkul, and then went over the Chuggatai pass, 15,500 feet high, into Chinese territory, where his way was not often smoothed for him by the officials. On May-day he reached Kashgar, a city which he knew of old. Here he stayed fifty days, till his eyes got well from inflammation, as the guest of an old friend, the Russian Consul-General Petrovsky, a man of science to his finger-tips, owning a laboratory and a library of books on Central Asia. Here, too, he renewed acquaintance with Mr. Macartney, the British Indian Government Agent; and on his return to Kashgar, after many wanderings about Mustaghata, the little Karakul lake, and the plain of Tagharma, and after living among the Khirgiz, and going by Fort Pamir to the Alichur valley, he spent many a pleasant hour with that intrepid and able traveller Mr. St. George Littledale and his undaunted wife. While Hedin was at Kashgar, the news came of the murder of that other explorer, Dutreuil de Rhins, at Tambuddha. Our author was kept prisoner in bed for a month through fever, caused by the violent changes of climate to which he had been exposed.

The remaining part of his first volume, entitled "Across the Takla-makan Desert," is the most exciting portion of the whole work, as the travellers lose their way in the wastes of sand; several perish from hunger and thirst, and

Hedin himself had a narrow escape, as also Islam Bai. To understand the route, we must take the map in Vol. II. This dreadful desert begins eastward beyond the river of Yark, where Lord Curzon's map ends, and extends to the river Cherchen. On March 11, 1895, Hedin saw the Mussalman shrine at Ordan Padshah, which had only once been visited by a European, Major Bellew, in April, 1874. Thence he went by Lailik to Merket, where no European had ever been. The Hindu cloth-merchants and money-lenders from Shikarpur and Sind have, however, penetrated thither, as well as to Yangi-hissar, and even to Avvat, near Aksu, where Hedin was the guest of one of them, who by usury with the peasants puts by £130 a year. Their cloth comes by way of Leh, Karakorum, and Yarkhand, and they charge exorbitant interest on loans. It was from Merket (probably the camp* marked No. 1) that Hedin started on April 10, 1895, for the Masartagh range, on the left bank of the Khotan-daria. Przhevalsky, Carey, and the unfortunate Dalglish were the first Europeans who ever saw these far-away mountains. We may here relate what roads Hedin took. Going eastward over the desert by twenty-three marches, he at length, on May 5, reached the Khotan-daria, after the crisis already referred to. He next followed Carey's route by that river to Aksu, a Mahomedan town in a fertile region watered by canals, arriving there on June 3. Thence he travelled 270 miles by a south-westerly road with the Russian Consul of Aksu, an excellent white-bearded Mussalman, to Kashgar, where, on June 21, 1895, he rested with his friends, and got ready for fresh fields and pastures new. At Aksu he had mourned the death of a white camel, on which Islam had saved some of his diaries, maps and instruments from the disasters in the desert; but a new equipment had now to be got. Here we pause with the hero of this new "Pilgrim's Progress" to look back on the dreary journey through the wilderness. The headings of chapters remind us of the famous allegory: there was a land of Beulah, an "Earthly Paradise," to be succeeded by

the shadow of death. Hedin thought when engaging a guide at Merket that he had found a veritable Greatheart in Yollchi (the pointer out of the road, *alias* the man of the desert), but as the caravan, both men and cattle, felt day by day the want of water, and the future grew gloomy and awful, he began, with Islam and his comrades, to doubt the man's good faith. "Were they right," he wondered, "in suggesting that Yollchi purposely led us in the wrong direction? If so, he paid the penalty, for he died of thirst in the desert." When at last Hedin left him and another in a dying state (see p. 576), he had not the heart to rebuke him for putting only a four days' supply of water in the tanks when ten days' supply was needed. Even before then, on May-day, 1895, Hedin was almost dead himself, when, after hours of blazing sunshine, he lay down in profound weariness, all his past life flitting before him as in a dream, bringing back scenes of home and Sweden, towns and rivers in Oriental countries, till his eyes grew faint, and after a half slumber he woke up in despair. Now at last he had to abandon the caravan. Islam, being too weak to move on, lay down with the four dying camels.

"Islam did not glance up when we left him, but Yolldash (a dog) sent a wondering look after us. No doubt he believed that we should soon come back again, perhaps with water, for the caravan was staying behind, and we never left it very far. I never saw the faithful creature again, and I missed him greatly."

Then Hedin and Kasim set off on their desperate march, to try if peradventure they might find the forest fringing the Khotan river. This desperate march is described in Chapter XLVII., in all its horrors, from the dawn of May 2 till the night of May 5, when he found the forest, with a pool of water whereof to drink and some frogs, which he killed and devoured. Their first night was spent in a refreshing sleep, but Kasim broke down at the close of the next day, and on the night of May 4 Hedin walked on alone. Kasim caught him up, next afternoon, and the twain trudged and crawled along for dear life, and came on the footprints of

men, only to find at last that the trail was made by their own boots and spade. Worn out, they lay down and slept, waking at dawn with throats on fire with the hot dryness. At last they came on the thick forest marked with innumerable spoor of tigers, wolves, deer, and hares, and also to their joy with traces of men and horses. Now they were sure the river was near, but after the long day of thirst Kasim dropped down delirious, and at seven o'clock at night Hedin had again to walk off all alone in the darkness in search of water, sometimes having to crawl, as his pulse had nearly ceased to beat. Then the forest comes abruptly to an end. He is in an old bed of the river. He changes his course, and, following the silver moon, has the luck to discern the real stream.

"I was only a few yards from the bank when a wild duck, alarmed by my approach, flew up and away as swift as an arrow. I heard a splash, and in the next moment I stood on the brink of a little pool filled with fresh, cool water—beautiful water."

Filling his waterproof boots, Hedin contrived, with the aid of some special Providence, to find Kasim once more and to allay his thirst. But Kasim was too weak to keep up with him, and as hunger pressed and became a mortal danger, Hedin set off again and advanced alone for three days until he came on fresh footprints of men, and at length heard voices, and soon burst upon some astonished but friendly shepherds, whom he saluted with the usual *Salaam aleikum*. The rich pasturage of the Khotan-daria affords

"A path or road of men who pass
In troop or caravan"

between the towns of Aksu and Khotan. Some of these merchants rode in search of Islam and Kasim, who were brought in two days later, along with the white camel, laden with the instruments, drawings, notes, teapot, and cigarettes.

In his second volume Hedin condenses the events of another trip to the Pamirs, leaving Kashgar on July 10 and

returning on October 3, 1895. To make out the road the reader must unhappily use both the maps. It lay southward over the Ullug-art pass to Tashkurgan, a Chinese fort where he found Macartney, then by the Taghdumbash Pass, the Supreme Roof of the World, to the Hindukush, exploring the Khunser-ab, Kanjut and Uprang valleys, under the Mustagh Range, which, as Lord Curzon's map shows, divides them from Hunza and Nagar. Then returning north, it turns west to Wakhan over the pass of Wakgir near the source of the Oxus, and then north-east along the Ak-su bank as far as Ak-tash and thence to Tashkurgan again. In parts this route cuts that taken by Lord Dunmore. It lies in Sarikol, a land of Shia Mahommedans, who, like the Indian Khojas and Memons, venerate the Aga Khan of Bombay as their religious head and travel to Bombay with their Peter's Pence for him. Lord Dunmore informs us that the Sarikol people are firmly convinced that he is the twelfth Imam. Such facts make the present stay of His Highness in London more than usually interesting, and justify the action of our officers in Gilgit, when they asked that his influence should be put into the scale during the recent troubles in Hunza. We are dealing with a region where three empires meet, where the civil allegiance of the Khirgiz is not yet settled. Lord Curzon has been through this country visiting Sarhad on the river Panj or Oxus; "the present outpost of Wakhan territory and Afghan rule," only 42 miles from Bozai Gumbaz westward. The Taghdumbash Pamir is, he says,

"under the jurisdiction of China, whose authority is represented by sixty soldiers in the fort at Tashkurgan, and who is as ignorant of the real conditions of her Pamir dominions and as utterly incapable of defending them as she has recently been proved to be in places that are the keys of the empire and under the very eye of the central government. . . . The bulk of the Khirgiz have at different times acknowledged a sort of general allegiance to China as till lately the greatest neighbouring Power."

In 1892 the Chinese commanders evacuated their armed posts at Rangkul and Aktash without a murmur at the mere command of Colonel Yonnoff. In 1895 General

Gerard and his officers were settling these frontiers of empires in company with a Russian commission, and Hedin, who stayed with them at Mehman-yolli, not very far from the Wakhgir pass and Kurturuk, spent a happy time there. After Aktash, our author marched, by Kok-rabat near to Yarkand and so to Kashgar, and we must hurry on with him to his longer journeys, of which two remain to be explained by the aid of his own and other maps, such as those two in the Royal Geographical Society's Proceedings of 1887, which show the routes of Przhevalsky and Carey.

Leaving Kashgar on the 14th December, 1895, and taking the same route as Marco Polo by Yarkand and Kargalik to Khotan, 320 miles, visiting the remains of Borasan (the Birasana of Indian writers) and collecting Buddhist images and gems in the ruins, he left Khotan on January 14, 1896, and crossed the desert of Gobi northward along the unknown Keriya river to Shahyar, a thriving town in the Tarim forest and south of the Tien-shan hills, and thence eastward along the Ughen-daria to Korla and the lake of Kara-shahr (Lat. 42 ; long. 86). Carey had marched to these places by the Khotan river. Korla was reached on March 10, and going south through the Lop-nor district over the tracks of Przhevalsky, Carey and Kozloff along the Koncheh river till it meets the Cherchen stream, Hedin followed the latter by Kopa and Keriya on the skirts of the desert, arriving at Khotan on May 27. The region lies in northern Tibet, north of the Altyn range, and south of the Tianshan. The story glows with the romance of the desert. Hedin describes and pictures ruined cities half as old as time, which as shown by the statues and paintings he dug-out of the sands were inhabited 2,000 years ago by some forgotten Buddhist people. There were female figures kneeling in prayer, some with rosaries and lotus flowers, male figures of Aryan type, pictures of horses, dogs, and boats. The house-walls made of bundles of reeds were still standing. In one city the wooden pillars and rafters

showed plainly the lines of the houses. The mysterious secrets of this ruin, which is near the Keriya River, and is called Takla-makan by the guides, but of which no European had ever heard, remain to be found out. We know from Shi Fa Hian that when he went to Khotan about A.D. 400 Buddhism was in full power there. My friend Professor Rehatsek, who died at Bombay some years ago, has in his *Essay on Christianity among the Mongols (Bom. Asiatic Soc. Journal, vol. xiii.)*, described the early efforts of Indian Buddhism in Tibet and Mongolia, and possibly what he tells us may help to solve this problem and explain the wonder.

"The stars seemed to fix us with their bright and penetrating glance as if wondering whether we were some of the dwellers of the towns of ancient days mysteriously quickened into life again; and, indeed, who knows how many graves of the dead that have slumbered for thousands of years we trampled on in the countless footsteps we took over that eerie sand? . . . Mine was the march of a conqueror. I had subdued the land. It was mine; it belonged to me. I was the first European who trod that unknown long-forgotten region."

Hedin felt on the Keriya bank and in the deserts where the wild camel brouses that he was on the very verge of the known earth among rivers unknown to song. As he drew near the Tarim, the old peril from want of water recurred, but he buoyed himself up.

The limits of this review forbid me to go over the entertaining incidents of the rest of this tour. Hedin was on the whole well treated by the Chinese Ambans and the Russian Consular men. At Cherchen, avoiding Marco Polo's route, he went southward, skirting the Kwen-lun mountains to Khotan, in delightful air, among the pastures of the Taghliks and by the gold-mines of Kopa. At Khotan, a town of 5,000 Mahomedans and 500 Chinese, he rested pleasantly, receiving great kindness from the able Mandarin of the place, studying Chinese, and packing his collections off to Stockholm.

With Chapter LXXV. we begin the last and longest journey from Khotan, over the Kwen-lun passés by the

Tsaidam desert to Peking. "On June 29 we were all up by sunrise. My peaceful house in the garden was cleared out." Peking was reached about the end of February, 1897. In the absence of headnotes we must give the reader some notion of the route. It was by Kopa into the uninhabited region of Arka-tagh, south of the Altyn range, and south of the Russian explorer's route: and then through a land of many lakes, eastward to the Tsaidam, a Mongol country, made up of morass and desert, near the southern Koko-nor hills. Thence by Lake Koko-nor and the Tangut tribes to the well-known town of Siningfu, memorable for the civil wars raised by the Dungs, Chinese Mussalmans of those parts; and on to Pingfan and by the Great Wall of China to Liang-chow-fu, where Hedin spent Christmas with Mr. Belcher, an English missionary. He then crossed the Alashan desert to Ningsha, and went through the wastes of Ordos and across the river Hwang-ho to Kalgan, a place four days' drive from Peking. These Chinese cities in Kansu, being well-known to missionaries at least, British, American and Swede, with whom Hedin stayed, the narrative now becomes very terse. On his return to Russia, he took the road across the endless plains, deserts and steppes of Gobi, through Sairussu and Urga to Kiakhta in Siberia. In reading Hedin's adventures on this last long journey through Tibet, one is impressed with the contrasts between the lonesome region of lakes, the home of the wild yak, the wild ass and the wild sheep, the remoter tracts of the fierce Tangut tribes, and the well-peopled cities nearer the Chinese Wall. The route has been crossed by other voyagers. Hedin had with him one Parpi Bai of Osh, a guide who had been with Carey and his murdered companion Dalgleish, with Bonvalot and Prince Henri d'Orleans, with Detreuil de Rhins, who was likewise murdered, and with Grenard, as well as with some Russian expedition. At camps 17 and 34 this fine old man was able to point out where Bonvalot and Carey had crossed the road: this Othello of the steppes

had also many a tale to tell round the camp-fires. With pardonable pride in a member of my own service, I may now with the two maps of the Geographical Society before me dilate a little on Mr. Carey's grand exploit in 1885-87. He went from Korla south across the Altyn-tagh and an uninhabited plateau to the Chamen-tagh range, overpassing which he reached the Kwen-lun proper. Then going to the east and crossing the Mongolian pilgrims' road to Lhasa, he attained the route taken in 1879 by Krishna, commonly called A. K., one of those obscure but intrepid natives of India who, under the Viceroy's orders, have explored these remote parts of the world. Krishna's caravan was looted in the Tsaidam, but he kept his notes and instruments and still went on his way. We hope he was suitably rewarded. Striking northward Carey went by Sacho, Hami and Turfan back to Korla, and thus went right round Chinese Turkestan. Hedin says that in Eastern Turkestan the Chinese have thoroughly established themselves and organized a good administration, although there is little security for life or property in the Tsaidam. The natives there seem to confound all Europeans with Russians, and Hedin was so acclaimed by an enormous Mongol caravan. At the large town of Tenkar, betwixt Koko-nor and Siningfu, the Chinese Governor met him, with a letter from "the Russian lady," who proved to be Mrs. Reinhard, an American doctor of medicine. Her husband, a Dutch missionary, had just before started for Peking with Captain Welby, after the latter explorer had crossed Tibet. Hedin was delighted and a little surprised when this lady, who was dressed in Chinese style, asked, "Do you speak English?" At Tenkar he had also the rare fortune to meet the Envoy of the Dalai Lama of Lhasa, who takes to Peking the triennial presents, the only tribute the Tibetans pay to the Lord of the Celestial Empire. Mrs. Reinhard described the massacre of the Dungans in 1895. Hedin relates similar stories told him by the British and Swedish

missionaries at Siningfu and Ningsha. But we have already brought our fortunate author to the Wall of China, and must here conclude our account of his wanderings.

It remains to glance once more at the political state of the countries he passed through. Many of the facts we have noticed appear to confirm Lord Curzon's views about China :

"It is Russia who threatens her frontiers in Chinese Turkestan and on the Pamirs, who is always nibbling in scientific guise at Tibet, who is building a great Trans-continental railway that will enable her to pour troops into China at any point along 3,500 miles of contiguous border."

China is wanting in warlike strength in the Pamirs and Turkestan ; and her hold over Tibet, which Russia covets, is rather shadowy than real. The Russians seem also to keep more amiable relations with the followers of Mahomed than the Chinese do ; and being quite indifferent to Christian missions, they avoid rubbing up the Buddhists the wrong way, and thus causing those ill-feelings which, in Lord Curzon's opinion, hamper the influence of our Envoys in the Far East. Along with many conciliatory habits, they have gained all the prestige which follows conquests, conquests too which, while really changing one despotism for another, have brought in their train a liberty much relished by the new subjects of the Czar, and a wider freedom for them to trade under the Treaty of 1881. The native *aksakals* found in so many Tibetan and Mongolian towns, seem already to have deepened the impression of Russian power on the mind of Tartary.

During the period of these Muscovite advances all along the line, China has grown more and more decrepit, like the Sick Man of Constantinople. It is plain therefore that many causes combine to make our statesmen and ambassadors watchful and anxious. I think a perusal of books of travel, like these before us, proves that the new Viceroy is right in advocating the promotion to high diplomatic posts of officials who know the languages, in insisting that good libraries of reference be kept up at our Legations and

Consulates in Asia, and in proposing that commercial *attachés* should be sent to travel the inland districts, and report on trade and markets. When he reaches India, Lord Curzon will have ample fields in which he can apply these prudent counsels. He must be aware that along our mountain barriers of India, officers are to be found from time to time, who stand on the level even of Sven Hedin in both research and discovery, men like Leitner in Dardistan, Brian Hodgson in Nepaul, Ney Elias in Turkestan, and those forgotten Indian Pundits, such as A. K. and Nain Singh. It may be doubted whether rare men like these are sufficiently rewarded. Still, whether decorated or not, they belong to a "distinguished order" of their own,

"Christian and pagan, knight and sage,
Soldier and anchorite."

Seldom mingling in the struggle for honours, personal distinctions come rarely in their view. They feel no grudge when some great scholar like Prince Lucien Bonaparte gets a pension for knowing Basque or when a history of Mongolia is crowned with a knighthood; and it is not they who carp at the yearly diffusions of rewards among the abler secretaries of our Indian Governments. Nevertheless, it may well be that this class of men will look up with more confidence to a Viceroy who is a scholar and explorer as well, and who is very sure to inquire into some of those Problems of the East which have always puzzled us Indian officers, *e.g.*, why among all the favours of the British Crown, none should have fallen upon that modest and efficient servant, the bold Tibetan traveller, Mr. A. D. Carey.

THE PARTITION OF CHINA.

BY ARCHIBALD LITTLE.

THE above sinister phrase is now in men's mouths, and the heinous actions it calls up may become accomplished facts if Britain does not come forward and take the lead in averting from China the fate of Poland: it is because I admire the interest taken by your valuable Review in the China question, and know the weight that your articles carry throughout Asia, no less than with thoughtful people at home, that I venture to send you a few words on the subject.

China is politically weak through the corruption of its rulers and the unwarlike character of its people. The corruption of the mandarinates I attribute to the evil system of paying the officials nominal salaries and allowing them to farm the revenue: pay them well, in ratio of their responsibilities and of the position and staff they are called upon to maintain, and I believe this great evil that now permeates the Chinese bureaucracy would disappear. Even as it is, incorruptible mandarins are not uncommon, *i.e.*, officials who will not take bribes and who do not collect more revenue from their districts than is actually needed for administration and remittance to headquarters; but, human nature being what it is, if you allow officials to tax at discretion, have no real audit of accounts, and merely stipulate that a certain sum must be handed over as net revenue, the majority of men, be they Mongol or Caucasian, will not neglect the opportunity of feathering their own nests, especially when, by the rules based upon the suspicion of their Manchu conquerors, the office is only for a term of three years, and that never in the native province of the official, but in what is, to all intents and purposes, a foreign country. This impediment to good government is well known to progressive Chinese, and, as they have a brilliant object-lesson before them in the administration of the Imperial Maritime Customs, in which both the Chinese

and European employ es receive high fixed pay, by which an honest return to the Government of the revenue collected is ensured ; there is reason to hope in time for a change of system : the Chinese are, in the view of latter-day Europe, provokingly conservative, yet hardly more so than were our own ancestors : they are an extraordinarily reasonable people, and when they do grasp a subject, action gradually results. There is a large reform party in the country, daily increasing in numbers and influence, but it takes time for new China to shake off old China : the old fossils must be given time to die out before the young men can give scope to their modernized ideas and reform the country—unless by a bloody revolution, which was tried fifty years ago and failed. Reforms too hurried lead to reaction, as we have recently seen in the case of the poor young Emperor and his adviser and prot g , Kang-yu-wei, the so-called “modern sage”—and as our own European history most emphatically teaches us. To supplement this general axiom, we have the fact that, by custom, which in China is law, innovations of any kind can only be carried out by universal consent. In private affairs, where great changes are in discussion, the majority must convince the minority ; they cannot ride roughshod over dissidents as in Europe ; they must get their assent, which, in practice, is usually given, where the minority is small, even against their convictions, for the sake of peace and quietness. It cannot be denied that the Chinese are often foolishly suspicious of innovations, especially when offered by Europeans, whose complex motives, not confined solely to money-making as they think, they are incapable of gauging, and they are strengthened in their convictions by one of their own expressive proverbs : “You yi, pi you hai”—“Evil lurks even in advantage.”

The second impediment to the continued independence of China is not so easily remediable as is the first ;—I allude to the unwarlike character of the people. In our present stage of civilization, where Might is Right and Christianity nothing but an impracticable ideal, this is a fatal defect in

any people, but it is specially fatal to the occupiers of a so exceptionally rich and fertile country as China. The Chinese cannot defend themselves against aggression, and will be utterly unable to do so for another century without European aid. To raise an army such as their numbers and hardy physique should render possible, strong enough to protect the country against European brute force, European organizers are absolutely necessary; not simple drill-instructors as hitherto, but a trained European staff: this must come ere long; the great question is, Shall this training be under the supervision of a semi-civilized corrupt bureaucracy like that of Russia, or under the guidance of Liberal powers like England and America, and I would even add Germany?

China, in climate, resources and population, is worth a dozen Africas to our trade,—that foreign trade by which alone we are enabled to feed our people,—and, in my opinion, is worth fighting for; although at the same time I am convinced that, had Lord Salisbury's Government paid due attention to China two years ago, when they were warned by the publication of the Cassini convention of what was in store for British interests in China,—the country which we had opened up to the world, where two-thirds of the trade and two-thirds of the foreign population are British,—and declared plainly for the open door policy "even at the cost of war," the latest military aggressions of Russia would not have been attempted. It was that which has been well called by Mr. Asquith the "infirmity of purpose and inconsistency of method of Lord Salisbury" that encouraged Russia to come on: originally she only asked for an ice-free port on the Pacific, south of Wladivostock: to this no one had any objection: this project was amended by a proposal to bring the terminus of the Siberian Railway to the Gulf of Pechili, with which object the Chinese granted a right of way through Manchuria and, in their weakness, permitted the Russians to guard the line with Cossack troops. No formal cession of the country to Russia was made; this is not Russia's way; a

stealthy seizure of the country is made noiselessly and thus European opposition is disarmed; meanwhile, however, Russia advances her frontier 1,000 miles South. This was not enough: the peninsula of the Regent's sword was ceded by China and Port Arthur, rescued from the Japanese, nominally in the interest of China, is being fast converted into a second Sebastopol: Peking is threatened, and all Northern China menaced by a Russian invasion as soon as the fruit is ripe.

Meanwhile our Government had sent two men-of-war to anchor in the harbour of Port Arthur; they were there with the consent of the Chinese: had they been allowed to remain, Russia would have been compelled to show her hand, either by attacking our ships, which she would not have dared to do, or else, which is the probable contingency, she would have put off the seizure of the fortress to a more convenient time. But for some unaccountable reason, our Government ordered the ships to withdraw, and the Russians moved in. This retreat on our part dealt a heavy blow to our prestige in the East, and necessarily threw China into the arms of Russia as the only power in the field that knew its own mind and must consequently be conciliated on the best terms possible by the helpless Chinese.

Mr. Chamberlain, in his recent speech in Manchester, defended the Government, and boldly asserted that no door had been closed upon us. We have treaties with China, and under these treaties our goods have free access to Manchuria. Newchang is a Treaty Port in Manchuria, and its Customs is under the management of Sir Robert Hart. Do the Russians respect this Treaty Port and observe the conditions under which they and the other Powers having treaty rights there are supposed to trade with it? Only the other day, the Russians totally ignored the Newchang Customs, and landed the cargoes of three vessels destined for Manchuria in a neighbouring bay without paying duty. This is a sample of what we have to expect in any portion of the Chinese empire occupied by

Russia. Ta Lien Wan bay, in rear of Port Arthur, we had arranged with the Chinese to make an open port ; the Russians seize it, and no British subject can now land there without a Russian passport. When the new Russian navigation laws come into force next year, no British ships will be allowed to carry goods between two Russian ports ; hence British steamers will no longer be able to carry kerosene oil from Batoum to ports in China occupied by Russia. The import of kerosene oil into China is a large and increasing trade ; it is taking the place of all other illuminants throughout China, and forms a great field for our carrying trade, which our Government should have carefully safeguarded.

Having let things drift in this way, the question now is, What can we do to recover the lost ground ? Many politicians appear to think that we should quietly accept the inevitable. Russia is bound to annex Northern China, and we must make the best of it, *i.e.*, we must abandon the policy of the "open door," and look for compensation elsewhere. Thus we fall back on "spheres of influence," and so have indirectly marked out the Yangtse valley as our sphere. But our Government does not appear to be prepared to ear-mark this region in any way. Russia has invaded this sphere likewise ; she has compelled the Chinese to give her a separate special concession in Hankow, and, together with France, is now in occupation of land there for which British subjects hold the title-deeds, and to which, by registry in the British Consulate Land Register years ago, they fondly imagined themselves to hold a clear title. The Lu-han railway, from Hankow to Tientsin, is now being built by a nominally Belgian syndicate financed by the Russo-Chinese Bank, while the nominally British, but really cosmopolitan, Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation is prohibited by the Russians from holding a lien on the new railway to the treaty port of Newchang, for which they have advanced the funds to the Chinese Government.

These and many other encroachments on our influence in

China, which I have not space to describe, testify to the fact that, if we continue to sit idle and to drift, our opportunities for trade with the largest potential market in the world will be still more seriously curtailed. Between the two stools of the "open door" and "spheres of influence," we are bound to fall to the ground if we do not bestir ourselves; and our Government should declare openly for one policy or the other, and then support the one selected with untiring determination. The open door all round is a true, clear policy; it is humane, just to the Chinese, and in the interest of every nation that seeks trade and intercourse with the Chinese, with no ulterior motives of preferential advantages for itself. The nations who now hold the lion's share of the China trade are deeply interested in upholding the *status quo*, and it ought not to be beyond the powers of diplomacy to bring about an agreement between them to resist further aggression upon China, and to compel the Russians to keep the door open, even in Manchuria, on the terms of our treaties with China. A joint protectorate by these nations, not a political interference, but an assurance against outside aggression, should meet the case if it can be brought about. China has the seeds of reform in herself, and, if given time and an assurance of protection, will surely, if slowly, bring them to maturity; and the wise policy is to help her to reform herself—analogous to the policy Sir Harry Parkes was allowed to pursue in Japan. But if, on the other hand, all other European nations have determined to partition China, and our pacific remonstrances are of no avail, then, I take it, it is the duty of the Government to see that Britain takes the lion's share, if only as a stake and means of bargain for the open door with rival Powers, and, farther, as a means of training the Chinese and enabling them later on to undertake their own self-defence. Continuous attention, to ensure which a special Far East Department should be organized, appears to me the only sure means by which either of the above ends can be satisfactorily accomplished.

NEPAUL AND CHINA.

BY E. H. PARKER.

PERHAPS there is no point in Far Eastern history more obscure than the origin of the existing relations between China and Nepaul, and as Great Britain is both historically and politically concerned in the matter it may be of interest to explain it.

It is quite certain that 1,100 years ago the T'ang dynasty in its intercourse with early Tibet had a fairly accurate notion where Nepaul was ; and indeed it is mentioned by that name, Nibal, or, as it now appears under conditions of modern phonetic decay, Ni-p'o-lo. But at that time numerous Chinese pilgrims had wandered extensively all over the Pamirs, India, and the countries of the southern seas ; and besides this, the Imperial government for some centuries received mercantile or tribute missions from most of the Asiatic states, even as far as Arabia: indeed, Siberia and parts of Asia Minor were the only regions not included within the political system which had its centre at Si-ngan Fu. But although Chinese history alone is sufficient to trace for us retrospectively the course of change, dynasty by dynasty, yet the connecting clues are severed so far as the average native reader is concerned, and there is the same foggiess in the Chinese mind touching the Decline and Fall of the Celestial Empire as there was in the European mind, previous to the works of Gibbon and Niebuhr, touching the influence of Rome upon northern and western Europe. China had to struggle with Turks, Tibetans, and Tunguses ; just as Rome had to fight for her life against Goths, Vandals, and Gauls. The Huns, in fact, were a connecting link between the great imperial system of the Far East and the great imperial system of the Far West. Though we are unable as yet to say with precision through what tribes Attila and his hordes had

been in touch with the nomads who had harassed China a few decades earlier, it is quite certain from the description given in Greek, Persian, and Chinese history that warlike aggregations of horsemen possessing identical customs and manners swooped down upon the settled empires of the temperate zone all along the line from the Pacific to the Atlantic ; sometimes raiding ; sometimes appropriating and governing territory ; and sometimes merging or being merged into the more civilised conquered peoples. Thus China has her Dark Ages and Middle Ages just as we have in Europe ; and history repeats itself, or runs in duplicate lines, from east to west, or from west to east, alternately.

In this way it happens that a vast unexplored chasm separates in the Chinese mind the people of a thousand years back from the same people of to-day. It was a great surprise when the Nestorian stone found 250 years ago at Si-ngan Fu made it plain to the *litterati* that the Christianity of the 17th century was immediately linked with that of the 7th. The connecting historical links of Corea, Japan, and Annam, all in close touch with China, have, if occasionally weakened, never been severed in quite the same way. In the case of India, Ceylon, Arabia, Nepaul, Java, Siam, and even Burma, countries may be said to have reappeared in unfamiliar shape, after a long lapse of oblivion, without there being anything on the surface to connect them with the same countries as they were under different names a millennium ago. In each instance the degree of oblivion may vary ; but, speaking broadly, it can be said that the subtle connecting links supplied by Chinese history are not obvious except to native specialists ; and of Chinese specialists in the science of true history, as distinct from the rule-of-thumb recording of facts and dates, the number is and always has been extremely limited.

It is not proposed therefore now to connect the Nibal of the 8th century with the Palpa of the 18th. To do that satisfactorily would be a dry and thankless task, even if it

were possible with the incomplete materials at present at hand: but I hope to do it soon; and meanwhile the considerations above set forth explain how it was that, shortly after the reigning Manchu dynasty had established its supervisory system over Tibet, the Resident reported to Peking the desire of the "Three Khans" beyond Tibet to send tribute. This was in 1732; and the Emperor, in view of the fact that a journey to and fro must occupy two years, directed that the envoys should settle their business in Tibet. Seven years later the Resident reported that the three Palpa Khans were at war, but that the measures taken by the native military authorities of Tibet to restore harmony showed every prospect of success.

The territorial titles of the three Palpa Khans are not consistently written, but the well-known fact that there were three rajas at Bhaktāpur (or Bhāt-gāon); Kāntipur (or Khātmāndū); and Lalitāpur (or Pātn); and that there had been such ever since the middle of the 15th century, proves the Chinese story to be so far true. One of the rajas is called the Khan of Ya-mu-pu, or Yen-pu: as the Chinese later on invariably style the Goorkha capital of Khātmāndū by the name Yang-pu, it is clear that this name must be taken from Swa-yambu, a village and temple lying 3,000 yards west of the present capital, and according to Dr. Wright already much frequented by the Bhotiyas before the Goorkhas built the modern Khātmāndū. In fact the Chinese tell us that

"the Tanguts go on an annual pilgrimage to the temple of Yang-pu, the capital, in order to smear themselves with white earth."

The other two Khans were those of K'u-k'u-mu (? Kukum) and Ye-lêng (? Yereng); but how these two names are to be squared with the Newar capital of Pātn, and with Bhāt-gāon, it is for local specialists to decide. The Chinese word Pa-lê-pu is manifestly intended for Palpa, for the Palpa rajas are known to have reigned from about the 14th century; and Abbé Huc informs us that the Nepaulese merchants at Lhasa were called Pe-bun, which corresponds

with the other Chinese form Pe-pu. Finally, during the course of their war with the Goorkhas, the Chinese discovered that the Palpa merchants at Lhasa were not, as they had supposed, of the same race as, or friendly to, the Kwo-êrh-k'a, or Goorkhas, and therefore decided to allow them to remain there. Hence it is quite clear that the Manchus first heard of Nepaul under the name Palpa; that is, under the Palpa rajas of the Rajpūt dynasty; and that these three rajas are specifically mentioned as the Three Khans, one of whom is recognisable as having had his capital at Swa-yambu natha, or Simbhunath, which is practically Dr. Wright's Kāntipūr or Yindēsi, founded in 723. The recent discovery in Nepaul of Buddha's birth-place will give more significance to this clearly indicated ancient worship at Swa-yambu natha. The Manchus distinctly state that previous to 1732 the Palpas never had any relations with China; so it is fairly safe to assume further that the Manchus had not the faintest idea that the Palpas were occupying the old Nibal land; and indeed they could scarcely have guessed it; for although the name of the Chinese pilgrim Hūan Tsang is said to be found in extant inscriptions there, the conquest of Harisinha deva in 1324, the four rajas of the Ayodhyā, and the restoration of the Rajpūts under Jayabhadra-Malla must have quite obliterated the memory of old Nibal; apart from the fact that, during the Middle Ages, China had no concern with North-west India at all.

And so things went on until 1780, when the Banshen Erdeni Lama of Tashilumbo in Tibet went to Peking to congratulate the Emperor upon his 70th birthday. He died there; and his elder brother, the Jongba saint, seized all his wealth, refusing to share it with the younger brother Shamarpa, and compelling the latter to go over from the Yellow Church to the Red. Both the Dalai Lama and the Banshen belong to the orthodox Yellow, which may be compared with the Roman as contrasted with the Greek church; or, from a Russian standpoint, *vice versa*. Shamarpa

appealed to the Goorkhas for assistance, and these, only too glad of a pretext for extending their conquests into Tibet, sent the raja's brother Surpratâp Sâh with an army against a place called Jumla.

All this Chinese story is confirmed by the meagre accounts of Nepaulese history given in English authors. The alleged ancestors of the Goorkhas, flying before the Mussulman arms, seem to have first taken refuge around Kumāon, whence they gradually worked their way east through Lamjung, Gorkha, Noākote, and the valley of Nepaul, to Sikkim. Prithiwi-nārāyana Sâh succeeded in 1742, and Su-êrh-pa-êrh-ta-pu (as he appears in Chinese dress) was his brother. After a quarter of a century of incessant aggression, during which the Palpa raja of Khāt-māndū applied for British aid—Kinloch was repulsed by the Goorkhas in 1765,—Prithiwi-nārāyana succeeded in getting rid of the three Palpa rajas, and died in 1774; or according to Wright, in 1775. Smith says 1771, which must be wrong.

When the Manchu Resident first reported the above events, the Emperor was unaware of Jongba's doings, and directed him to see to the defence of Niram, Chirong, and Jongka [which places lie to the north of Lamjung and Noākote, and are the keys to Ulterior Tibet]. Eleuths from the Dam region, Chinese and Manchu troops from Sz-ch'wan, Tibetans proper, and independent Tibetan tribes from the region recently visited by Mrs. Bird Bishop were hurried forward, whilst Chirong was specially indicated by the Emperor as being Chinese territory, having been conquered by the 5th Dalai towards the end of the 17th century. In this connection the word Nepaul incidentally occurs once. The Emperor says :

“The Goorkhas are from Ni-êrh-pa, which used to belong to Yang-pu, and we must make up for our not having stopped their career of conquest before by forcing them to restore now.”

Meanwhile the Goorkhas not only took the three frontier posts above named, but advanced up to Shikar; and the

Jongba and Sakya saints—the last belonging to the Red Church—patched up a peace with them behind the back of their Manchu protectors, if indeed the latter did not locally connive at it. The Goorkhas were rashly promised by these officers an annual subsidy of 150,000 taels and the title of King. Casually it is mentioned that the Palpa trade with Lhasa (La-tsz) is of very ancient date, and other Mussulman traders called K'a-k'i are spoken of, having reference apparently to the Khachi district, west of Gorkha and Lamjung; but possibly the same word as *ko-k'i*, to be explained anon.

Dr. Wright's account supports the above in many important points. He says that the Goorkhas learnt of the country in the north from Syāmarpā (Chinese Shamarpa) Lama, whom they had sent for; and that they plundered Digarchā, by which he evidently means Shigatsze, practically the same place as Tashilumbo.

Although the war was, at bottom, owing to the intrigues of the late Banshen Lama's elder brother, the pretext which immediately led to hostilities was not without more specific foundation. It appears that the Tibetan customs officials had raised difficulties about the exchange value of the Nepaulese silver coinage, and had connived at the wholesale adulteration of the salt exported from Tibet. It was now resolved to give the Manchu Resident more power in the nomination of Tibetan provincial officials; to get rid of the hereditary system as far as possible; and to insist on the officials being in residence at their posts, instead of farming them out to underlings. Arrangements were also made to establish a sort of Tibetan *prætor peregrinus* at Lhasa, in order to deal justly with any commercial questions raised by the Palpa and Khachi traders there, and to watch the quality of salt exported. It was proposed to reduce the customs duties from 10 per cent. to 5 per cent. *ad valorem*; to appoint officers holding Chinese commissions at the Jongka, Chirong, and Niram frontier stations; to introduce Chinese tael ingots and

copper cash as currency in Tibet ; to strengthen the Chinese guard at Tashilumbo ; and to relieve it every three years.

The Chinese Emperor K'ien-lung, who was nothing if not thorough, and who was himself able to speak and read Tibetan, ordered several Nepaulese prisoners to be sent to Peking, with a view to check the written correspondence. The long names of the Goorkha chiefs gave trouble, but at last it was made clear that the real name of the ruler was Lana Paturh (Ran Bahādur) ; that of his uncle, the prime minister, Patu Saye (Bahādur Sāh) ; and that the young chieftain was now 15 years of age. He was still under the influence of Shamarpa, at whose expense the Tashilumbo temples had been built. But it at last transpired that whilst the Manchu generals had connived at a dishonourable peace and endeavoured to get the Goorkha "tribute" envoys off to Peking, the Goorkhas were once more threatening hostilities because the annual subsidy had not been forthcoming. The Goorkhas cut the bridge over "the river," and advanced straight upon Tashilumbo, which they thoroughly looted. The Banshen Lama was conveyed by the Chinese to a place of safety, but the Dalai Lama bravely stuck to his temple (Putalā) at Lhasa. It was now discovered for the first time that the Palpa traders who had been at Lhasa for over a century were not of the same race as the Goorkhas. It was therefore resolved to utilize them as allies if possible, and heavy reinforcements of Manchu and Chinese troops were sent across the almost unknown route *viā* Kokonor (partly examined by Rockhill and Sven Hedin) under the supreme command of the Empress's nephew, General Fuk'angan. The Emperor positively declined to pay any subsidy to Nepaul on any condition whatever.

The history of this second and final war is told with great minuteness, but there are so many strange names used that the general reader will perhaps be better pleased with a mere outline. Proffers of aid to the Chinese came from Sikkim, Chamulari, and Great Britain. In Chinese character these figure as Puluk'êpa (Brughpa), Chamulang, and

P'ilêng. There are many indications that this last word is simply *feringhi*, or "Frank," which was said to be "a dependency of Liti." As often happens with Chinese representations of foreign words, a transposition has here taken place, and Tili, or Delhi, is meant. Indeed, when Lord Macartney appeared at Peking a few years later, it was discovered by the Chinese themselves that Kali Gatta (Calcutta) was the P'ilêng capital, and that Yingkili (England) was really intended. When the Abbé Huc was at Lhasa fifty years later, he found that rupees were there called *peiling ch'ranka*, which last word I take to be identical with *denga*, or "money," a word still used in Indo-Burmese parts. In Hodgson's work on Nepaul (1875) *philing* is said to mean *feringi*, or "Frankish" stranger, a word which in China itself appears as *falanki*, and at first covered all the nations of Europe sending ships over the seas. Hodgson also says that in 1789 Colonel Ross told the East India Company's government that the Nepaulese had settled their difficulties with China—evidently alluding to the first war. Laurence Oliphant (1852) speaks of the salt carried into Nepaul from the Chinese side; and Smith (1852) speaks of Nepaul having asked British aid against the kinsman of the Emperor of China, which of course refers to Fuk'angan and the second war. He adds that Kirkpatrick was sent with a force, but that it was too late; also that, in the Chinese despatches to Lord Cornwallis, allusion was made to the "robber" Goorkhas. All this tends to confirm the accuracy of what has been said or will shortly be said from the Chinese standpoint; and it may be stated here parenthetically that the word "robber" means "enemy," or "attack as an enemy," when used in this official way. The British Consul at Canton in 1880 sent back a despatch to the Viceroy because he had spoken of Europeans "robbing" China; it really meant nothing more than "attacking China," as above explained, and the Consul was over-sensitive.

On this occasion the Emperor decided to march direct

upon Yangpu (Khātmāndū), and to decline the suggested assistance of the British, Bhotiyas, etc., at least until such time as they should have given unmistakable evidence of "loyalty" and good faith. There were 13,000 imperial troops employed altogether, but of course many of these had to guard communications in Tibet. It was considered that the capture of Shamarpa and Bahādur Sāh at least was essential to the honourable ending of the war.

In the autumn of 1791 the Resident found it impossible to conceal matters any longer, and had to report that the Goorkhas were disputing "questions of accounts." They claimed, amongst other things, that six of their coins should be allowed to circulate in Tibet as the equivalent of one Chinese tael. It was now for the first time that the Emperor learnt the true story of Shamarpa's having been driven over to the Red Church by his brother Jongba, and the latter was ordered up to Peking to offer explanations. It leaked out that the Dalai Lama had been firm throughout, and that the Manchu Residents had been bribed to patch up an inglorious peace. The old Goorkha capital of Gōrkha was stated to lie to the west of Khātmāndū, and the Emperor's plan of campaign was to cut off the retreat of the advanced force of the Goorkhas, leave strong garrisons at Niram, Dingri, Chirong, and Dililangku, whilst a flying column should strike hard at the capital before the passes were rendered impassable by the snow—in the winter of 1792. It seems that in the summer of 1790 a Goorkha envoy named Hari Sāh had actually reached Peking, and that Rān Bāhadur, misled by Shamarpa, had claimed not only a title as King, but a salary and a concession of territory. The following synopsis of a decree by the Emperor, issued in the year 1792, gives the history of the Nepaul wars from the Chinese standpoint :

"The Goorkhas never did send tribute to China, but hostilities broke out in 1788 owing to commercial misunderstandings about salt. Of my four high officers on the spot only one understood Tibetan, and his pig-headed conduct led to a dishonourable peace, followed by his subsequent suicide. Then it transpired that the late Banshen Lama's younger brother

Shamarpa developed hostile feeling against the elder brother Jongba, and proceeded to secure the sympathy of the Goorkhas. When I first heard of the dispute about accounts, I did not think a second war would be necessary, but it is now quite impossible for me to condone the attack upon Tashilumbo. Fuk'angan has advanced far into Goorkha territory and gained several successes. Ran Bahādur and his uncle are afraid; they now surrender the Tibetan traitor Tanching Panchul, and announce that Shamarpa's sudden death alone prevents them from surrendering him too; however, they offer to give up his dead body, though their fear is so great that neither uncle nor nephew will consent to come and apologize in person. On the whole, their submission is more humble than that of the usurping King of Annam, and perhaps hearing of his recent visit to Peking they may be induced also to come later on. Under these circumstances, I will pardon them and withdraw, the state of the snow making it risky for us to push on to Khātmandū. Fuk'angan would have been promoted to the rank of *Fürst* had he secured the person of Ran Bahādur and entered his capital. As matters stand, the success is not such that I can celebrate a formal triumph in the Temple. If therefore the plunder taken at Tashilumbo is returned, with Shamarpa's corpse and retainers, you may accept their offers. They can send tribute on the same footing as Annam, Siam, Burma, and Corea. The Palpa traders at Lhasa may accept Tibetan nationality and remain, or they must leave the country. Let piles of stone be placed at intervals along the frontiers, and let no one be allowed to cross; the Residents will in future inspect these marks at regular intervals. It is unnecessary to be particular about the amount of plunder surrendered, so long as the form is gone through, and so long as the imperial objects of value are returned. The Sikkim tribes must not be allowed to trade across the frontiers either. My original intention was to quarter Shamarpa, and hang his limbs at the four chief temples of Tibet; but as this would (on second thoughts) shock Buddhist prejudices, let them be hung at the post-stations instead."

The English accounts of the war all agree that the Chinese troops advanced as far as Noākote, and Wright admits that the Goorkhas, whose own annals boast of victory, were badly beaten. No place in the remotest degree resembling the word Noākote appears in the Chinese annals. According to these, the Imperial troops marched the equivalent of 233 English miles into Nepaulese territory. The main column, after taking Chirong, captured the Jeso or Raso Bridge beyond it, and advanced along rough stony gorges to Shepru. Then the Tungkio ridge was carried, and two places in succession called Yarsai La and Bortung La. After that again, Kar La and Twepum were reached, and a march made over the Tung La Mountains. A branch

column first seized the chain bridge at Cham, and, advancing by the Niram route, occupied two villages called Tolo K'a and Lung-kang : the last point occupied was Liti. All these names are of course doubtful in Chinese character, but perhaps persons with special local knowledge may be able from them to identify the main lines of march. The Emperor, in summing up the reports of victories gained, uses the following language :—

“Our generals gained successes at Cham, Panghing, Chirong, Jeso, Shepru, Tungkio, and Chimchi, and these places, together with Niram, are therefore ours by right of conquest, as also are Twepum, Yungya, and Palangku. But we will waive our rights ; and as all within the Jeso Bridge used to be Tibetan, we will hold the frontier in future to be just outside Chirong and Niram.”

There are sufficient indications in the best English maps to show the position of the most important points above alluded to, notably Chirong, Niram, and Jongka. The Chinese information is very full, and perhaps when someone thinks fit to publish a respectable map of Nepaul, we may succeed in identifying all the places so named, of which but a few are here given.

The net result of the second war was that the Chinese were enabled safely to withdraw all their troops before the snows rendered the passes impracticable in October 1792. Trade was allowed much as formerly, except that it was to be under official control, as in the case of the Russians at Kiachta, the Goorkhas exchanging their grain for Tibetan salt and butter. Five elephants were sent as tribute, three of which were to be taken by the envoy to Peking, and one each given to the Dalai and Banshen Lamas.

The Emperor seized the opportunity afforded by the incompetence shown by the Tibetan authorities to defend their country against aggression to reorganize the whole system of hereditary or caste administration. Full details of these important changes are given ; but as the matter specifically concerns Tibet alone, it will suffice in order to complete this sketch of the Nepaul war to allude to the establishment of the golden urn election system. The reformer Tsongkaba

had after his death been spiritually succeeded by his two chief disciples the Dalai and Banshen Lamas, and after the death of the first of these representatives a custom had grown up of "finding the soul" of each successive deceased ecclesiastic in the body of some suitable infant. A number of infants to choose from were in the first instance indicated by sorcerers, who after dervish-like contortions, mystical incantations, and other hocus-pocus, affected to discover spiritual affinities in age and personal qualities. From the group of infants thus selected, the chief sorcerer at last fixed upon one, and the child chosen was solemnly acclaimed by the assembled people. Gradually this superstitious jugglery had extended itself to the saints or *hutuktu* dotted over Tibet and Mongolia, who bear much the same relation to the two "Popes" that the cardinals in the Roman system do to the successors of St. Peter. The Emperor seems to have derived most of his information from Tanching Panchul at Peking, and he resolved to put a stop to a system which allowed any rich Mongol prince to bribe the sorcerers into selecting sons or other relatives to fill all the fat bishoprics in High Asia. In future only saints of the first class were to possess transmissible souls at all. No souls were to be found in princely families; and the choice was to be limited to infants of prepossessing appearance and respectable but harmless family connection. A golden urn was sent down from Peking, and the names of the infants indicated by the spiritual electors were to be put in this urn and drawn for in the presence of the Manchu Resident. In this way the Manchu dynasty practically secured a control or veto over the *cong   d'  lire* nominally continued to the body of Tibetan canons, and this modified system has worked well up to the present day, Mongolia and Nepaul being effectually excluded from all political share in Tibetan ecclesiastical affairs. It was also ordered that the Sikkim tribes should no longer be permitted to go to Swayambu in order to "smear themselves with white earth." Owing to the cost of carrying the cumbersome copper "cash" into Tibet, it was finally

decided to use silver coins as before, but superscribed with Chinese and Tibetan characters. Arrangements were made to establish a school for interpreters in the Goorkha tongue, and the Goorkhas were allowed to send youths to Tibet to study Chinese. Foreign traders had to be registered; Kashmir merchants were allowed to enter Lhasa once, and Palpa merchants thrice a year. The presiding deities of the Tanta range of mountains were suitably rewarded for their services in allowing the Chinese armies to pass safely.

A curious decree of the Emperor's in 1793 throws some light upon the British proceedings. Fuk'angan had

"ordered the Feringhi to assist him against the Goorkhas, but owing to the great distance they had to come they arrived too late. The Feringhi now say that before the Chinese wrote, the Goorkhas had also invited their aid against China, but that they (the Feringhi) had refused help because it would place their Canton trade in a hazardous condition. But when the Feringhi sent in their petition to the above effect, they were unaware of our victories, and Fuk'angan was quite right therefore to inform them that we had no need of their troops. It appears that the Feringhi also sent letters, written after the Mussulman style, to the Dalai and Banshen Lamas of Tibet."

According to Dr. Wright, we made a commercial treaty with Nepaul in 1791, and early in 1792 Kirkpatrick reached Noākote with a body of troops, only in time to discover that the Chinese had settled their own affairs with Nepaul. On the 1st of March 1792 a second commercial treaty was drawn up.

In 1794 there were some petty disputes with Sikkim and Chamulari about boundaries, but the Manchu Resident seems to have prevailed upon the Goorkhas not to disturb the *status quo*, and to adopt a *uti possidetis* sort of compromise. In 1795 the Resident had to report that Bahādur Sāh was no longer regent: he had retired to a monastery, and his nephew Ran Bahādur was ruling alone. This statement agrees with the English accounts, which add, however, that Bahādur Sāh was murdered in 1797.

In 1793, shortly after receiving Fuk'angan's report, the Emperor mentions having given audience to Lord Macartney in a tent at Jeho. In 1795 a letter was sent to King

George III. (see *Nineteenth Century Review*, July 1896) in which K'ienlung says :

"After my generals had reported to me their success in Nepaul, they informed me of your mission to Tibet sent with the object of persuading Nepaul to keep quiet. But all was then over, and we needed no help from you. Your letter now mentions the circumstance, and says the events in question took place after your tribute envoy had quitted England, which fact explains the absence of any allusion to the matter on my generals' part. I just mention this to you so that you may know what the true facts are."

Goorkha envoys were present at Peking when the Emperor abdicated (early in 1796) in favour of his son, usually known as Kiak'ing; but his last instructions were not to interfere unnecessarily in Goorkha affairs.

In 1799 Ran Bahādur applied that his son Ki-êrh-pan-na Tsu-t'a Pi-ko-êrh-ma Sa-ye (Gīrvān Judda Vikrama Sāh) might be granted the royal rank. This was accorded by the Emperor Kiak'ing, with the proviso that as the young ruler was only two years of age his father's name should always appear jointly in correspondence. The date accords with the latest English authority. Ran Bahādur abdicated in 1799, but subsequently regained the throne, and was assassinated in 1805.

The above account, incomplete though it is, shows once more how scrupulously exact the Chinese records are. Were there fuller accounts in European works, it would perhaps be possible to make much more out of the Chinese narrative, which requires a good map to make it fully intelligible.

P.S.—Since writing the above, I have discovered some more interesting facts which bring the Chinese account up to date.

In 1801 a Sikkim tribe (Chê-mêng-hiung) complained to China that Ran Bahādur, being at feud with his *Ko-k'i* (a term evidently meaning "high officers"), was borrowing Feringhi assistance. The Emperor declined to take any steps. In 1802 it was reported that Su-pan-se, uncle of the Chamulari chief, had taken refuge in Tibet from the

Goorkha king, who was then at war with his own son. At the same time Gīrvān Judda Vikrama Sāh sent tribute. The Feringhi had captured six positions. The Emperor considered this to be a "feeler" on the part of the King of Nepaul, and said :

"If he takes refuge in Tibet, keep him there, but don't assist him with any troops without previous reference to me."

In 1804 Ran Bahādur was reported to have gone back to live with his son, and China refused political asylum to a *Ko-k'i* named Nai-r Hing (? Ner Singh). In 1806 Ran Bahādur was reported to have been murdered, Ner Singh was executed, and his brother Jê-na Pi-ko-lung (? Ran Vikrang) was refused asylum by China.

Nothing further occurs until 1812, when it transpired that in 1808 and 1810 the priestly rulers of Sikkim or Brughba had applied for Chinese ecclesiastical rank, on the ground that in 1723-1736 they had become part of the Empire by accepting the title of Erdeni Diba. The neighbouring tribe of Chê-mêng-hiung tried to get China to modify the frontier, and the Chinese post of P'a-k'e-li (? Pagri) was attacked by the Brughba. There were squabbles about taxation too, and some bloodshed, but a peace was patched up.

In 1813 Gīrvān's *Ko-k'i* arrived with tribute, and in 1815 military aid was refused against the victorious Feringhi on the same grounds as had been the case during the Siam and Burma wars, when each party had applied for aid. At the same time, the Residents were confidentially instructed to keep the Feringhi from advancing up to Yang-pu (Khāt-māndū). When the Nepaulese tried to force China's hand by saying the English would probably disapprove of tribute being sent to China, the Emperor said :

"Tell them you dare not report this language to me. As a matter of fact, they can join the Feringhi rule if they like, so long as they send us tribute, and so long as the Feringhi do not cross the Tangut frontier."

The Resident made rather a mess of his instructions, and the Emperor was in great dread of complications : he was

much relieved when Gīrvān at last announced a peace with the British ; but he said :

“Don't take any notice of his offer to report to us regularly what goes on.”

Tribute came to China as before every five years.

In 1818 the Goorkha Erdeni Jê-tsun-ta-r Pi-ko-r-ma Sa-ye (Rājendra Vikrama Sāh) sent tribute, and in 1821 the new Emperor Tao-kwang sent him a nice message. According to English accounts, he succeeded Gīrvān in 1816. The Chê-mêng-hiung tribe made great efforts to obtain the P'a-k'ê-li post from the secular Tibetan authorities known as the Galdan Siretu and Samadhi Bakshi. It seems that (like the Mongols) these Sikkim people were in the habit of going periodically to Tibet in order to “boil tea.” The Emperor ordered that in future this religious ceremony should not take place oftener than once in eight years, and that the Chê-mêng-hiung should not be allowed any more to migrate to Cho-mu (? Chona) for the cool weather every summer.

In 1822 there was a question about repairing a seven-storied temple, and the Chinese officers at Niram and Jongka got into trouble for permitting the persons concerned to cross the frontier ; but without a good map it is impossible to understand details, nor is it certain if Jung-hia-r or Jung-hia is the same place as Tsung-k'a (Jongka). In any case it is not far off. The tribute envoy in 1822 explained that the King was Ran Bahādur's grandson, and that during his infancy the *Ko-k'i* Bhīmasēna Thāpa (Pi-mu-hing T'a-pa) was Regent. In replying by letter, the Emperor incidentally gives the envoy's name Ta-na-p'êng-sa Pang-li, which seems to point to one of the Panrē faction.

In 1825 the rule about summering at Cho-mu and “boiling tea” was relaxed a little : Cho-mu is stated to be in Tibet, but P'a-k'ê-li, though inhabited by Tibetans, is “outside.”

Nothing more transpires until 1837, when the Goorkhas complain of Chê-mêng-hiung trespasses. Raja-a Pang-li

(? the Raja Kāle Panrē) sent word that the King wanted to make over his country to the Feringhi, and had murdered his (Panrē's) grandfather. The Queen sent private tribute of her own. But the Emperor declined to recognise "female status" at all, and would not notice Panrē's appeal. In 1838 the Po-wō barbarians surrendered some persons guilty of attacking Chinese posts. It is possible that Bok-wa or Brughba may be meant. Such names depend very much on the dialect spoken by the scribe. For instance, the Pekingese Flansi and Jangker (France and Jehangir) become Faplanse and Chōngkaki in other dialects.

In 1841 Nepaul's offer of aid against the Feringhi was declined. The Resident Mēngpao now discovers clearly that

"the P'i-lêng are a possession of the Yingkili: it is also said that P'i-lêng and Kalikatta both belong to the Tili Pach'a (? Pasha of Delhi), which is a great country to the south-west. P'i-lêng is west of Kalikatta, and also belongs to Yingkili. The English word for 'officials' is *tili*, but the Viceroy Kikung [then at Canton] says he cannot anywhere find Tili Pach'a; however, it is explained that the [? Nepaulese] words *niehka ch'aina* mean 'on the coast of China.'"

Later on, Nepaul asked for compensation from Tibet to make up for British encroachments: an English letter was enclosed and returned, as also a letter from the King's son. China declined to give land, money, or troops; and a letter censuring the King for his "silly requests" was sent by the two *Ko-k'i* Tsa-ko-ta-pa and Mēng-pang-chê. The King seems to have put in a curious claim to rule three years, for each ten years of Tibetan rule, the districts of Chirong and Niram.

The Resident Sashiyaltai at Yarkand now contributes a philological item to the discussion. He says:

"P'i-lêng, *alias* Yingkili, is in the Mussulman language *P'ai-lang*, and hitherto they have bordered on Yinti [*i.e.*, India]. The P'ai-lang are now reported to have annexed Yinti, and stationed soldiers at Nu-p'u-r [? Nag-pore or ? Lahore]. Though T'ui-i-po-t'ê [Tübot] and K'e-shi-mi-r [Kashmir] have not actually been annexed yet, Yinti is without any supreme ruler, and most of the tribes belong to P'ai-lang."

Meanwhile Surēndra Vikrama Sāh of Nepaul reports his father's abdication, and submits further grievances. "Stave him off somehow!" says the Emperor.

In 1853 there were 13 *Ko-k'i* at Peking, one of whom was called Sa-r-ta-r Shēng-ma-sie Jê-tsēng Kapaha Tu-jê (? Sirdar Shenmase Rajen-Kapaha Tura or some such name). Some petty frontier questions were settled in a way conciliatory towards Nepaul, but their proffered assistance against the Taiping rebels was declined. In 1855 Nepaul (in Russo-Franco-German Liao Tung fashion) applied that

"Tibet may be made to give us compensation for our offers of assistance."

An old Palpa chief named Jê-ma Sung-ta-r (? Rama Sungtar) also made advances, and a Tibetan officer was sent to Tingri to find out what it all meant. The Nepaulese seized their Port Arthur and Ta-lien Wan in the shape of Chirong and Niram, China being too preoccupied at home to prevent it.

It is now that Sir Jung Bahādur first appears in Chinese history. The Nepaulese took Jongka, and sent a *Ko-k'i* named Tsangkê Patur to take charge. As the Resident passed through Shikar, he was told to explain to Sir Jung that China had never accepted the proffered aid, and would give neither money nor land. After some desultory fighting, it was at last arranged in 1856 that Nepaul should restore to Tibet all the places taken, and should apologise. Presents and buttons of rank were sent to Surēndra Vikrama Sāh and Jung Bahādur in 1857-58. Their names in Chinese dress appear on the last occasion as Su-jê-ta-jê Pi-ko-r-ma Sa-ha, and Tsangkê-r Patur. The last notice is in 1861, when it is stated that the tribute envoys can come when due in 1862, provided the rebellion will permit of their safe passage. Trade relations between Nepaul and Tibet appear from the *Peking Gazette* to be regulated now by the treaty of ten articles drawn up after the troubles of 1860: there is an annual fair in the spring at either

Niram or Chirong, when tea and salt are exchanged by the Tibetans for rice and other petty Nepaulese productions.

About 17 years ago the Manchu Resident in Tibet reported the death of the King of Nepaul, and announced at the same time that the "Acting King" was called P'i-jê-t'i-jê Pi Pi-ko-r-ma Shêng-sie Tsêng-ko Pa-ha-tu-jê Saha. By the light of what precedes we may take it as certain that the three last words mean Jung Bahādur Sāh. The *Encyclopædia Britannica* says that in 1881 Prithwi Vir Vikrama Sāh succeeded, which would account for the three first Chinese combinations; but whether Prithwi and Jung are one and the same person, or two persons, it is for persons versed in Indian affairs to say.

In 1886 envoys were again sent to Peking. The chief *Ko-k'i* was called Jê-la Pi-ko-r-ma Jê-na, which sounds like Raj Vikrama Rana; the second in rank was a Sa-r-ta-r (? Sirdar) named Ti-jê-k'ê-man-la (? Tirak Manla); and there were eight Su-pi-ta-jê (? Subadars), whose fearful names will be supplied in the original Chinese to anyone who can "show cause" why he should know them. The movements of these envoys can be steadily traced until, in 1891, they are finally landed back safe in Nepaul. Another memorial from the King alludes to his chief *Ko-k'i*, by name Pi-jê Shêng-sie-jê Tsêng-ko Jê-na Pahatujê, who had received from the Emperor the title of *Kwo-kan Wang* or "Very Brave Prince." This accords with Dr. Wright's "Nepaul," which says that in 1873 Sir Jung Bahādur was made *Thong-lin-pim-ma Ko-kang-vang-syan* which, when properly spelt, means "general leader of the army, truly brave prince, and premier."*

In conclusion, I may say that if anyone possesses a good map of Nepaul, and will supply me with a copy of it, and also as many authentic names of places and people as possible, I shall perhaps be able to furnish quite a respectable history of the Nepaul wars from purely Chinese sources.

* See "Notes and Correspondence," p. 184.

BASUTOLAND.

BY MALCOLM SETON, B.A.

THE history of South Africa during the last fifty years seems to the casual observer to be made up of a series of unrelated incidents. This impression is probably due to the fact that African affairs only attract attention in England when they reach an acute stage, or, if we look at the matter in another way, when they force themselves upon the readers of the daily papers. It is, of course, not to be expected that the people of the British Isles, with whom, in times of disturbance, rests the ultimate decision of Imperial questions, will ever be well-informed upon the affairs of the British dominions, but it is at least possible that Englishmen may be enabled to understand something of the essential factors in colonial history. We have got past the stage when the authorities at home could gravely instruct the chaplain in charge of the troops at Grahams-town to ride over every Sunday and conduct an afternoon service at Durban (some five hundred miles away), but the atmosphere of misty enthusiasm through which Englishmen are at present learning to look at colonial development is almost as destructive to clear vision as was the blank ignorance of the forties.

It is therefore worth while to go into some of the details of South African history with what may at first appear disproportionate minuteness. For anyone who wishes to understand South Africa must learn that the necessary preliminary is a comprehension of the mutual relations of the three races established in the country—the British, the Dutch, and the Bantu or “Kaffirs.” Now while the affairs of Basutoland are, perhaps, not in themselves of sufficient importance to claim any discussion except in what Stevenson happily described (when speaking of the contact of two white nations with one coloured race in another part of the

world) as "a footnote to history," it may be claimed that they afford some valuable illustrations of the processes which have been at work in South Africa: their typical interest, in fact, is greater than their individual importance. And there is this further reason for devoting a little attention to Basuto affairs, that during the next thirty years Basutoland will, in all probability, present the most serious problems with which the High Commissioners of South Africa will be called upon to deal, and it is therefore just as well that people in England should not be compelled (as is usually the case when African troubles arise) to have hasty recourse to an atlas for the purpose of acquiring their first acquaintance with the theatre of events.

The Basutos, then, are a section of the great Bantu race, akin to the Bechuana branch of it rather than to the Zulus. The question of Bantu origins is, at present, one of hopeless difficulty; it must here be sufficient to say that the Basutos, during the early part of the century, were a tribe (using the word loosely) settled to the west of the Drakensberg range, spreading over a great part of what is now the Orange Free State. Under the attacks of turbulent neighbours, they gradually formed themselves into what may fairly be called a nation, and thus they present the spectacle, unique in South Africa, of a nation created by external pressure. When the Zulus, under Chaka, perfected their military organization, and "ate up" their weaker neighbours, they destroyed the tribal organization of half the Kaffir races, but they unwittingly created Basutoland. For, to the west of the Drakensberg, one petty chieftain was able to realize that, if he could concentrate round his rock-fortress of Thaba Bosigo the remnants of the broken tribes, he might yet build up a nation. When the history of the Bantus comes to be written, Moshesh must figure in it as the only Kaffir diplomatist. Conquerors there have been many—Chaka, Dingaan, Moselikatse—among the Bantus, reformers one at least, Khama, Chief of the Bamangwato, but Moshesh the

Basuto had something of the genius of Themistocles—he could make a small state into a great one. The Zulu raids depopulated the greater part of what is now Natal, and filled the Drakensberg with miserable fugitives, who, in their distress, fell back to the practice of cannibalism.* Moshesh gradually rallied round him many of these demoralized Kaffirs: he succeeded in suppressing cannibalism (which is revolting to the genuine Bantu), he welcomed a few missionaries, for, though he never appears to have been really converted to Christianity, he recognised the benefits which the reflection of civilized ethics might give to his subjects, and he made genuine efforts to check the “witch-doctoring” that represents the one effectual belief of the savage Bantus. When Moselikatse broke away from the main body of Zulus, a party of his Matabele† attacked Thaba Bossigo without success: Moshesh, having repulsed their assault, sent them a present of cattle for their homeward journey, and, henceforth, was practically unmolested by Matabele raids. But even more serious troubles came upon the Basutos when the “Great Trek” brought many families of Boers North of the Orange River. The British Government was quite at a loss for a policy for the first twenty years of the present reign: while unwilling to extend British sovereignty beyond the Orange River, they were unable to see British subjects cast off their allegiance and engage in native wars

* This outbreak of cannibalism was due to very exceptional distress, but continued to exist for a time as a morbid custom. (See Mr. Scully’s “Kaffir Stories,” a book invaluable to any student of native life; and “Les Bassoutos,” par E. Casalis, ancien missionnaire; Paris, 1859.)

† Mr. Andrew Lang, in his “Making of Religion,” has shown that the Zulus, at any rate, possessed some primitive theological theories. But, for all practical purposes, the only supernatural belief that influences the Kaffir races is the conviction that evil powers can be invoked by witchcraft.

‡ The Matabele were an offshoot from the Zulus, who fled westward under Moselikatse, and for some years ravaged the territories now comprised in the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. They were gradually driven north by the Boers, and finally fell upon and reduced the Makalaka and Mashona in what is now called “Southern Rhodesia.”

on their own account. Accordingly they devised the unfortunate plan of "buffer states": Cape Colony was to be bounded on the North by a series of independent native chiefs, while beyond the domains of Adam Kok, Waterboer, and Moshesh, the Boers were to be allowed nominally a free hand, but to be debarred from obtaining ammunition. In 1843 Sir George Napier concluded a treaty with Moshesh by which that chief was recognised as ruler of Basutoland and a great part of what is now the Orange Free State. But the system was hopeless from the first: the emigrant colonists round Bloemfontein refused naturally to consider themselves the subjects of a Kaffir chief, and such disturbances ensued that in 1848 Sir Harry Smith annexed the "Orange River Sovereignty" in the name of the Crown.

Moshesh was compelled to recognise the extension of British sovereignty, but it was not to be expected that a powerful native chief would acquiesce quietly in the loss of his independence. The annexation had come too late: many of the Boers resented the measure, and the Basuto chief was able to some extent to make use of the discord among his European neighbours. In 1851 the Basutos cut up a small party of British troops under Major Warden, and next year they fought what was practically a drawn battle against a much stronger expedition led by Sir George Cathcart. Moshesh, however, was aware that he could not stand against the British forces, and was wise enough to send an offer of submission to the British commander, which was accepted. Some cattle were paid over as a fine, the British evacuated Basutoland, and the prestige of Moshesh was exalted among the other native chiefs. In 1854 a change of policy was decided in Downing Street: the Orange River sovereignty was abandoned, the Orange Free State was created by the Convention of Bloemfontein, and henceforth the Basutos were face to face with an independent Dutch Republic. The natural results followed: the Basutos, now grown into a warlike nation, raided over their western border, and, in spite of the

pacific declarations of Moshesh, a state of intermittent warfare continued for fourteen years. Two British Governors (Sir George Grey in 1858, and Sir Philip Wodehouse in 1863) attempted mediation between the combatants, but the promises of Moshesh were fruitless; he was unable, if possibly not unwilling, to hold in check his young warriors when defenceless Dutch homesteads lay before them. At last, in 1867, the Orange Free State was roused to a final effort: the burghers invaded Basutoland in force, defeated the natives in a series of engagements, drove them like baboons to the heights, and beleaguered Thaba Bosigo. Moshesh in his extremity appealed to the High Commissioner, and Sir Philip Wodehouse, on his own responsibility, annexed Basutoland to the Empire. This step (disapproved, but not disavowed, by Lord Cardwell, then Colonial Secretary) created in the Orange Free State a feeling of resentment which is not yet extinct. The British authorities, it was felt, had been content to remain as spectators while the Basutos harried the burghers, and then, on the eve of the long-deferred vengeance, had intervened to rob the Free State of the fruits of conquest. Moreover, by the Bloemfontein Convention England had formally disclaimed all intention of interference with affairs North of the Orange River, and she now extended her boundaries to the Caledon. However, in 1869 the Free State consented to enter into the new Convention of Aliwal North, by which its possession of a large piece of Basutoland, known as the "Conquered Territory," was established: while England assumed the responsibility of governing the Basutos. For two years Basutoland was nominally under the control of the High Commissioner, but, practically, Moshesh was allowed to reign undisturbed, while British police patrolled his frontier and headed his young men off from Free State territory. The plan of uniting Basutoland with Natal was discussed, and Moshesh appeared to be in favour of the idea, probably because he knew that the Drakensberg would shelter him from all effectual interference on the part of the Natal Government,

since the North-East frontier of Basutoland is guarded by almost impenetrable mountains. But in 1871 Cape Colony voluntarily took over the control of the province. In 1872 the Cape was granted Responsible Government, and this event completely changed the position of the Basutos, who were not consulted on the measure, and whose advocates were afterwards able to say that they had never consented to come under the control of an independent Cape Ministry. At the time of the annexation Sir Robert Southey, a Cape Minister, remarked that Basutoland "might hereafter become the granary of the Diamond Fields," while the feeling was general that the country offered "a wide field to profitable commercial enterprise." Moshesh died shortly afterwards, leaving the paramount chieftainship to his son Letsie, whose control over the other chiefs was from the first quite nominal. Basutoland, however, prospered: the French Protestant Missionaries continued to work with a good deal of success, and the Basutos became, as Sir Leicester Smyth reported afterwards, "probably the most prosperous and the most orderly native community in South Africa."

In 1879, however, a chief called Moirosi began an open rebellion, and the consequent unrest was increased by the knowledge that the Cape Government proposed to introduce European settlers into the country. In 1880 the extension of a Cape "Peace Preservation," *i.e.*, Disarmament, Act to Basutoland set the whole country aflame. Masupha, a son of Moshesh, appeared as a national leader, and the rising of the Gcalekas in the Transkei encouraged the Basuto rebels. The Cape forces met with no real success,* and in 1881 Sir Hercules Robinson, now High

* It is curious that the ordinary Colonist should disparage the services of British Regulars in Kaffir warfare, because, as a matter of fact, the South African Colonial or Republican forces have not a very good record. Sekukuni, crushed by Lord Wolseley, had previously routed the Transvaal Boers; the Cape forces could do nothing in Basutoland in 1880. However, Imperial troops have done so well in Matabeleland lately, and the Cape forces mismanaged a really trifling Bechuana campaign in 1897 so completely, that the old notions may be expected to change.

Commissioner, mediated between the Colonial Government and the Basutos, fining the latter, and enacting that compensation should be paid by the rebels to the loyal Basutos whose property had been destroyed. The award was nominally accepted, but never carried out by the rebels, and the Cape had to compensate the loyal natives. Letsie protested his loyalty, but took no effective steps to bring his brother Masupha to submission. The services of General Gordon were borrowed by the Cape Government,* but he was not given a free hand, and soon resigned. The Disarmament Act was repealed without effect; Masupha remained unsubdued. The unhappy events in the Transvaal in 1881 shook the political framework of South Africa, and meanwhile Basutoland remained in a state of chaos. The Cape had spent £3,000,000 on the war, and was obliged to confess its inability to restore order. The Cape Ministry resolved to abandon the country, while acknowledging that such a measure must be the prelude to immense disorders. The shock to British prestige—if such prestige existed in South Africa after Majuba and the subsequent surrender—entailed by the withdrawal of the British authority from the country of native rebels, was almost sure to kindle a general native rising in South Africa. Many Cape politicians hoped that the Orange Free State would at once begin a war of extermination against the Basutos. Such a withdrawal would, indeed, have been a breach of the Convention of Aliwal North, by which the British authorities in South Africa guaranteed the security of the Free State against Basuto invasions, but the Colonial Government simply protested its inability to fulfil such an engagement. In vain Cetywayo, now a prisoner, wrote a letter† to the Basuto people exhorting

* Mr. Demetrius Boulger's "Life of Gordon" contains a very startling chapter on Basuto affairs. Mr. Sauer, the Cape Minister for Native Affairs, countenanced (according to Mr. Boulger) an attack upon Masusha while Gordon was actually present as an envoy in Masusha's kraal. Fortunately the Basuto chief did not retaliate.

† This letter, which will be found translated in the South African Blue-

them to submit to a nation which had crushed with ease the much more considerable power of the Zulus. But Masupha imagined that he could stand out, and Letsie was almost as unsatisfactory a protégé of England as was Yakub Khan in Afghanistan. A complete deadlock seemed inevitable, when, after much negotiation, Lord Derby communicated to the Cape the willingness of the Imperial Government to resume the administration of Basutoland, provided that the Basutos expressed their willingness to accept the Imperial authority, and that the Cape should guarantee for purposes of administration a proportionate amount (settled at £20,000 a year) of the Customs Revenues. Sir Thomas Scanlen and Mr. Sauer, following the example set previously by Mr. (now Sir Gordon) Sprigg, had visited the Basuto chiefs, and finally most of these professed their readiness to obey the High Commissioner. In January, 1884, the control of Basutoland was resumed by an Order in Council, and Colonel Sir Marshall Clarke was at once despatched from Egypt as Resident Commissioner.

The resumption of Basutoland must certainly be counted on the credit side to the Colonial record of Mr. Gladstone's 1880 Cabinet. As Mr. J. X. Merriman wrote, in a Minute addressed to Lord Derby, "the abandonment of Basutoland by Her Majesty's Government will be looked upon by a majority of Colonists of all races as a preliminary step to the abandonment of South Africa as an Imperial possession."

But the paper settlement left most of the practical difficulties untouched. Sir Marshall Clarke went to Basutoland with no parade of force: his mission was to subdue by moral suasion an excited Kaffir nation who had just

Book (C 3,717 of 1883), is most interesting, as Cetywayo took no pains to conceal the contempt with which a Zulu regarded the Basutos. He had by this time visited England, and his idea of the national resources is characteristically expressed in the remark: "If the English had sent an army, no one would now be living in Zululand. They only sent a few men to advise the Zulus in kindness!"

held their own against white forces in the open field. Letsie was useless (Captain Blyth described him as "guilty of duplicity, weakness, and vacillation"), and Masupha sulked apart. The Orange Free State Volksraad refused to take any steps to police its own border, and held England to the letter of her bond, in spite of the efforts of President Sir John Brand to meet the Imperial Government half-way. The death of Moshesh had freed every petty Basuto chief from discipline: each man was as good as his neighbour, and anxious to prove the fact by "eating up" his neighbour's lands. A number of rascals of the particularly detestable type that flourishes in the wilder parts of South Africa had established themselves just inside the Free State frontier, and made a lucrative business of "gun-running," and selling spirits to the Basutos. The latter constantly violated the boundary in their sectional struggles, and thus caused very natural irritation in the Free State.

In spite of these facts, Sir Marshall Clarke, seconded by his Lieutenant, now his successor, Sir Godfrey Lagden, succeeded in a few years in reducing Basutoland to a state of comparative quiet. The importation of liquor—the great curse of the Kaffirs—was absolutely forbidden, and smuggling was practically stopped. A hut-tax was established, which, with the Cape Customs contribution, has made the administration self-supporting. In 1885 Masupha submitted and paid his hut-tax, and he has never attempted open rebellion since. The chiefs were allowed to retain the power of justice over their own people, but European Resident Magistrates were appointed in each district to superintend the general administration. On the personal influence which these officials exercise on the various chiefs depends the peace of the country. An efficient native mounted police was raised for the control of the border. The incursion of white adventurers, for the purposes of trading or prospecting for minerals, was absolutely forbidden. The Government is sternly paternal,

and Basutoland is maintained as a Native Reserve, where only a few missionaries and licensed traders are allowed to settle.

In 1891 the Chief Letsie died, and was succeeded by his son Lerothodi, a man of much greater force of character, which is, however, marred by a craving for drink. It is obviously undesirable that a Chief should be seen drunk when liquor is by law supposed not to be found within his dominions. The perfection of the control which has been exercised by the Resident Commissioners is shown by the fact that Basutoland remained fairly quiet during the troubled times of 1896, and that the Rinderpest measures provoked only a local, and quickly-suppressed, ebullition. Two High Commissioners—Sir Henry (now Lord) Loch, and Sir Alfred Milner, and one British ex-Cabinet Minister, Mr. Bryce,* have visited the country, and in 1894 Lerothodi was induced to spend a short time in Cape Town. Education has made some progress,† and, although the Christianity which many Basutos profess is not very thorough, “witch-doctoring” has practically died out. In 1897 Basuto recruits did good service in Matabeleland. The population has greatly increased, and is now estimated at 250,000.

On the other hand, grave difficulties lie ahead. The increase of population has caused all the available land to be occupied, and it is difficult to see how a larger population is to be supported. Many young Basutos now go out to work for a term at the mines of the Rand or Kimberley, and, though the wealth of the people is thus increased, these natives return with wealth enough to enable them to live idly for the rest of their lives, with their innate respect for their own chief lessened, and with their natural simplicity affected by exotic vices. The Chiefs are still apt to quarrel, and generally rush to arms on such occa-

* See Mr. Bryce's “Impressions of South Africa.”

† A curious instance of this is the fact that in 1882 Masupha was kept well informed by Cape newspapers of the difficulties of the Government.

sions, although they allow themselves to be pacified by the Magistrates. But the whole nation is armed : the Basutos breed excellent ponies, and, unlike other Kaffirs, make most efficient light cavalry. They have an overweening confidence in their own powers, due to the fact that they have never been decisively beaten in a war with Europeans. Their hereditary hostility to the Dutch might at any moment send 20,000 Basuto horsemen like an avalanche on the Free State. Some splendid regiments for Imperial service could be raised among them, and it would be well if our statesmen profited by the advice offered in New Zealand by Sir George Grey, when he wished to raise some Maori regiments. His plan was neglected, and, a few years later, the Maoris rebelled against the rule under which they would have been delighted to enlist.

And, again, some danger is to be found in the fact that Basutoland seems to be becoming a sort of Naboth's Vineyard to Cape Colony. The country possesses the finest climate in South Africa, and is admirably adapted to European settlement—but no Europeans can acquire land. The soil is the best in South Africa for wheat—and its Basuto owners cannot use it properly. The country is rich in minerals—and prospecting is forbidden. The Cape public is beginning to forget the events of twenty years ago, and to dwell on the fact that the best corner of South Africa is reserved for the use of a nation of turbulent Kaffirs. Of course, the Imperial Government is bound to keep faith with the Basutos, but Colonists often resent inconvenient Imperial obligations. When these features are considered, it is hardly too much to say that Basutoland, despite its present prosperity, may yet become the storm-centre of South Africa.

NOTE.—While I have made free use of a good many books—notably, Mr. Lucas's "*Historical Geography of the British Colonies*"—for the purposes of this article, I owe special thanks to Mr. F. Perry, of the Colonial Office, for his kindness in helping me to take advantage of the wealth of information on the subject available in the South African Blue-Books.

A COLONIAL EMPIRE ON ECONOMIC AND JUST PRINCIPLES.

BY H. R. FOX BOURNE.

THE problems claiming consideration by political economists are now more numerous and, some of them, more complex than they were a century ago, and Adam Smith's successors have done much in amplifying and supplementing, as well as in correcting, the doctrines he propounded. But, while later teachers have greatly improved on his handling of what are to-day regarded as the essential parts of economic science few have paid even as much attention as he did to some questions which, if in a way only side issues, have direct and momentous bearing on the whole subject, and which have grown immensely in importance since he made his "Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations."

The "nations" of whose condition Adam Smith took account were chiefly the few that, in no more than a portion of Europe and in the outlying regions they had then appropriated, had by friendly and unfriendly rivalry with one another attained the measure of civilization which satisfied them before the first rumblings of the French Revolution were heard. Throughout most of the eighteenth century, though there was plenty of desultory fighting, there were in this relatively small area no such great wars as had wasted it before and were to waste it again. In 1775 Adam Smith could speak with a light heart of "the art of war" as "certainly the noblest of all arts," and felt himself able to commend the comparatively recent institution of a standing army as the "only means" by which "a civilized country can be defended" and "a barbarous country can be suddenly and tolerably civilized." He saw nothing alarming in the fact, as he stated it, that "the duty of defending a society from the violence and injustice of other independent societies grows gradually more and more

expensive as the society advances in civilization,"* and it did not occur to him to point out that, however necessary it may be for one nation to be competent to protect itself from the "violence and injustice" of others, the business of war is altogether incompatible with the orderly working of the economic laws by which alone "the wealth of nations" can be assured and augmented. Were he living now he would probably have supplied the omission.

When he sought to promote "the wealth"—that is, the economic welfare—"of nations," all the nations of Europe were small, and Great Britain was one of the smallest. Now several of the European nations claim to be empires, and the British Empire has already an assumed area—comprising colonies, protectorates, spheres of influence and what-not—more than a hundred times as large as that of the United Kingdom, with a heterogeneous population at least ten times as numerous as that of our own islands. We have had no war with any of our continental neighbours for more than forty years, but in asserting and extending our authority over more alien and, as they are considered, inferior races, we wage several little wars each year. Partly on this account, and yet more to ward off possible attacks by European rivals, we maintain a large standing army, besides militia and volunteers at home, and native forces abroad, and we keep up naval armaments much more formidable than our military establishments. Our army is insignificant in comparison with the armies of several of our rivals; but it is slowly growing and increasing in cost, and meanwhile our navy is being enlarged by leaps and bounds. The actual expenditure of the nation in keeping up its fighting machinery, when all the accessories are reckoned in, vastly exceeds the amount, approaching £50,000,000, which was voted in the last Session of Parliament, but this outlay in itself is no small drain on the nation's resources.

All the laws of production and distribution, of equitable

* "Wealth of Nations," Book V., Chapter I., Part 1.

and reasonable supply and demand, are more or less interfered with and violated when society is in a condition requiring the maintenance of large armaments ostensibly intended to keep it in order, but much more suited if not schemed to promote disorder. On strictly economic grounds the policy of empire-holding, to which the policy of empire-extending is a corollary, by means of such armaments as are now in vogue, is indefensible, or can only be defended by pleas that themselves condemn it. It is wasteful of the material with which "the wealth of nations" is built up, even if it can be made, by those most skilful in their enforcement of it, to more than compensate them for their own waste.

Economic science was practically unknown in the centuries that saw the slow and often violent building up of what is now spoken of as the British nation, but in which all of British that remains dates from a barbaric age, and in which, whatever may be due to survivals from the original stock, the elements and conditions of national growth must be attributed in overwhelming proportion to successive encroachments from other lands. Our nation, moreover, owes nothing to economic teachers for the process by which cliques and clanships of all sorts have been gradually absorbed, in so far as they have even yet been absorbed, into the one community of which Scotchmen and Welshmen—may I add Irishmen?—as well as Englishmen are members. But this has been an economic development, and the development would have been more rapid and thorough than it has been, free from many of the faults and drawbacks we now have to deplore—most notably in the case of Ireland—had it been subject to the proper working of economic laws. The welding, incomplete and clumsy as it is, of several portions of the German people into one empire, furnishes modern evidence of the economic advantages of such fusion. The disasters which, through their narrow and spurious patriotism, befell the old Italian States, and which still weigh upon modern Italy, furnish

like evidence from the negative side. The octroi, not yet abandoned, has had not a little to do with Italy's political and economic failures since the Middle Ages.

The false patriotism which alienates nations that ought to be at one, and which leads them to employ great armies and navies in holding one another at bay, still draws much of its life from racial prejudices, religious animosities, dynastic ambitions, and other vicious causes outside the scope of economic science. Yet most if not all of these causes are losing ground nowadays, while the strain of commercial rivalry is being steadily increased. It is mainly on this account that "the good old rule, the simple plan, that he should get who has the power, and he should keep who can," has been perpetuated and elaborated since the beginning of the present century. Territorial aggrandizement has long been pursued, partly for its own sake, more by France and Russia than even by Great Britain, and by Germany and other powers as well; but "the scramble for Africa" would have been much less reckless in the past dozen years, there would have been much less competition in South-Eastern Europe and Central Asia through a much longer period, and this year's quarrelling about China would scarcely have arisen, had not the old assumption that "trade follows the flag" acquired new significance, and had not trading monopolies and, failing them, the expectation of benefits from "hostile tariffs" quickened the energies of our rivals in colonial and commercial empire-making. It is for the protection of our distant possessions and our world-wide trade, much more than of our own shores, that our naval strength is being augmented at the present rate, and the risks of our being involved in war with one or more of our European neighbours are almost entirely consequent on the competition for markets that is growing fiercer every day.

In the building up and development of great empires, the British Empire is the largest and most successful in the world; and then are two great and (what would be) if they

were only aimed at and obtained by sound economic methods, two almost unalloyed economic gains in such imperial expansion as is approved in theory by British empire-makers. Our islands are and have long been too crowded for their whole population to thrive, or even to live, on nothing but their own produce and without drawing on the resources of other lands. If the nation is to prosper, many of its members must seek their fortunes abroad, and supplies must be procured from abroad for the benefit of those who remain at home. It may be said that there is no sufficient reason why our emigrants should have British possessions to settle in, or why the distant markets opened up for our home advantage should be under the British rather than any foreign flag. As a matter of fact, the tide of migration from the United Kingdom to the United States and other countries, is larger, and, with some exceptions, not less profitable to the settlers than that to our own colonies, and the volume of our foreign trade vastly exceeds that of our colonial trade. But so long as present notions of patriotism prevail and are as well founded on political, social, racial and other considerations as at present, so long as British residents or traders in foreign lands are exposed to disabilities and obstacles from which their kinsfolk are free or which are less irksome in most of our own possessions, the patriotic reasons for imperial expansion will be weighty. England may have gained more than she has lost through the alienation from her of her earlier colonies on the American mainland. There may be none but sentimental grounds for retaining under the nominal sway of the Crown the practically independent nations that have grown up in Australia and elsewhere. If British rule in India were abandoned, we might be deprived of nothing more than the gains from burdens we have no right to impose on its people, and from an unfair draining of their resources, which they have only submitted to under compulsion. China will probably afford us better markets, notwithstanding all the hindrances threatened or set up there,

if we content ourselves with so much of an "open door" as we can peacefully obtain use of, than if we attempt by coercion or conquest to bring it or any large part of it within the already overgrown area of our Empire. These are merely illustrations, which might be multiplied indefinitely; but they will suffice to remind us that there are economic as well as ethical limitations to the proper extension of empire. No such extension is expedient unless it is also just. No acquisition or retention of territory can be profitable to the nation as a whole, whatever it may be to unscrupulous and dishonest individuals in it, few or many, if it is tyrannical.

Of the two main incentives to imperial expansion—the procuring of new sources of trade and the obtaining of new fields for colonization—the second is of much later origin than the first, and has already pretty well served its purpose. Trade interests, often without this being clearly understood or duly recognised, played their part in nearly all the foreign wars on which England embarked during seven centuries and more, from the crusades against the Saracens down to the crusade against Napoleon Bonaparte. They were the avowed excuse for all the licensed filibustering in Queen Elizabeth's day and afterwards, in which the East India Company was most successful, but which had even more momentous results in New World conquest and colonization. In the East Indies and elsewhere, trade was almost the sole inducement to conquest. In the West Indies and elsewhere, colonization came to be an important factor, though the Cavaliers who, after Raleigh's failure, started Virginia and Carolina, the Puritans who planted New England, and the Quakers who settled Pennsylvania, went out rather as fugitives from oppressive or unwelcome rule at home than as colonists in either the modern or the ancient sense of the term. For the most part, but under very different conditions, they were nearly as much exiles and outcasts as were the convicts transported to Botany Bay who were the pioneers of Australian development.

The plan of settling in our distant possessions willing emigrants from the mother country, in large numbers and for other than political or punitive reasons, scarcely took shape before the beginning of the present century, and has only been practicable to any great extent in those portions of the world, sparsely peopled by aborigines or whose aborigines when not serviceable as slaves could easily be stamped out, in which white men can live with comfort and labour with advantage. In Canada, Australasia, and other parts, the British Crown has already acquired most of the districts suitable for colonization by white men, and nearly all the rest have been appropriated by other nations.

Our possessions of this sort, exclusive of those in Africa and Asia, have an aggregate area more than fifty times as large as that of the United Kingdom and twice as large as that of the United States, with a present white population, by no means all drawn from Great Britain and Ireland, equalling less than a third of theirs and only about a seventh of that of the United States. There is room here for vast increase in numbers and in material wealth, but not for much more territorial growth. The dimensions, but not the resources, of our colonial empire have well-nigh reached their limits. It is otherwise, however, with our protectorates, spheres of influence, and so forth, which, especially in Africa, afford immeasurable opportunities, not for colonization, but for what may be roughly called commercial developments, and in respect of some of which notable attempts are now being made to continue or revive, in better ways or in worse, the methods of the chartered companies of former days.

All our more important colonies—Cape Colony and Natal, as well as the several provinces of the Canadian Dominion and seven out of our eight Australasian dependencies—have ceased to be dependencies in anything but the name, and are practically free to work out in their own ways, right or wrong, any economic or other policy that they favour. Most of them, moreover, have already

settled for themselves the principal economic problems with which they were confronted in the earlier stages of their growth, or have taken over from the mother country the settlements arranged by her during their tutelage. Such problems, and they are not few or simple, as they have not yet settled, or as require resettlement before they can be in a satisfactory condition, are almost identical with the problems that we see in cruder shapes in our not yet liberated dependencies—that is, in our Crown colonies, our so-called protectorates and our so-called spheres of influence. It may be sufficient, therefore, and it will be more convenient, to speak of these problems in their cruder shapes, the crudest of all being that in which little more is aimed at than the same sort of trade advantage as was sought by our ancestors long ago. Our great Indian dependency, of course, in which our civilization is in contact and often in conflict with survivals of civilization older than our own, is in a position quite different both from that of our more advanced self-governing colonies and from that of our least developed acquisitions ; but in it, too, the economic problems are similar, if not identical.

The primary object of all imperial expansion being, as I have indicated, the securing of such foot-holds in districts not yet occupied by the intruders as they can make profitable use of, the issues are substantially the same whether colonization or nothing but trade or anything between the two is intended, whether the obtaining of positive advantages for the newcomers or merely the forestalling and hampering of possible rivals is desired. The intruding nation, or the section of it acting in its name, assumes that it has the right, if it has the power, not only to master and dispossess those already in occupation of the coveted districts, but also to prevent others from doing what it proposes to do itself. Both assumptions have come to be discredited, at any rate in theory, in the relations between nations so far civilized that they have fashioned for themselves, and agreed upon, a more or less adequate code of

international law, and there is even some pretence nowadays of partially extending the theory to dealings with uncivilized communities. The Bull of Pope Martin the Fifth assigning to the kings of Portugal dominion over nearly the whole of Africa and its inhabitants is out of date, and, though the doctrine that "the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof" is still supposed to warrant the seizure of barbaric regions by nations or individuals claiming to have divine sanction to do as they please with the lands and bodies of savages for the good of their souls, it is now common to find other pretexts for whatever acts of aggression and oppression may be committed. None the less, such appropriations as have, within the past decade or so, on paper or in fact, added to the British Empire about half a million square miles of territory in South Africa, about as much in West Africa, and, without taking account of the present proceedings in the Nile Valley, a yet larger area in East Africa, are, with but few exceptions, in the nature of theft. Whether any justification can be found for these and all similar appropriations, and for all or any of the wars and spoliations by which they have been preceded and attended, and which give all the reality they have to our imperial holding of the territories and our efforts to establish imperial control over their inhabitants, is a question of ethics rather than of economics. But it has its economic side. The old saying that "honesty is the best policy" has not lost its truth, and it is to-day, yet more than it was in less busy times of empire-making, worth considering whether national and imperial dishonesty can economically be other than impolitic.

That the best possible use ought to be made of the world's material resources is a fundamental axiom of political economy, and it has far-reaching corollaries. The man who can help others to grow ten or a hundred blades of grass where only one grew before, to turn pestilential swamps and barren wastes into fertile fields, to utilize forests and rivers, to open up new roadways and line them

with homesteads, to augment the earth's capacity as a dwelling-place for intelligent and prosperous human beings by cultivating all that is cultivable on its surface and extracting all the wealth still hidden or neglected beneath that surface, is a public benefactor. A great deal has been done in these ways, and there can be no doubt that a great deal more remains to be done. Flaws and failures are inevitable in the process, and at best they can only be mitigated and minimized. The law of the survival of the fittest is an imperative law, entailing on the unfit certain and grievous misfortunes, and, human nature and the conditions of life being what they are, sometimes enabling an unfair share of gain to be acquired by those who have most skill or, it may be, most luck in carrying on the struggle for existence. Hard, perforce, is the lot of the benighted races who, in Africa and elsewhere, have through generations and centuries been without the civilizing influences that have brought Western Europe to its present condition, and it should be lightened and improved as far as possible by their more fortunate fellow creatures. It is harder, in some respects at least, than that of our remote forerunners in the Britain which was ruthlessly included in the Roman Empire, but in which the ruthlessness appears to have been less severe, and the palliations and partial compensations were more substantial, than we find in some portions of Africa. Do not the merits and demerits of the Roman conquest of Britain, its effects on the conquerors as well as on the conquered, suggest economic lessons applicable to our nineteenth century empire-making?

Most of the districts claimed as British possessions, with the exception of India, might contain larger native populations than they now have, if full and proper use were made of their hitherto more or less neglected opportunities for wealth-producing. Anything that can equitably be done in utilizing and augmenting the resources of these districts, for the advantage of newcomers as well as of the original occupants, is legitimate and highly commendable. In so

far as it is just, it is expedient, and what has already been achieved in this direction furnishes ample evidence in favour of continuance and extension of the same policy, with such improvements as experience points out. But there is a much larger body of evidence as to the folly and danger of pursuing an unjust policy. Natives frightened or beguiled into a show of submission to arrangements which, whether so planned or not, tend to deprive them of their rights and to prejudice their interests, naturally and necessarily resent such arrangements, and the resentment increases with every step taken in overawing and wronging them.

In Africa, where the evil is most plentiful, nearly all our recent acquisitions of territory have begun with so-called treaties, either for trade or for the working of mines and the like, entered into with chiefs ready enough, in return for the gifts or pensions with which they are bribed, to barter away rights appertaining, not to them, but to their people. If the chiefs are satisfied, the people generally object as soon as they know that they have been betrayed, and for so doing they are punished, with or without much slaughter, by further deprivation of their rights and by assertion, often very vague and ineffective, but not less obnoxious on that account, of despotic control over all their affairs. If the control attempted were wise and firm, fitted to benefit the people by leading them into better ways of living, there might be something to be said for it. But it is rarely so. The people are too often left in all their former savagery, if not made more savage than before. Whatever is done or proposed for the development of the country's resources has for its main or its sole object the gain of its white exploiters, not the improvement of the natives' condition. The trouble lately brought about by mischievous meddling in the Sierra Leone interior, where a so-called protectorate nearly a hundred times as large as the so-called colony to which it is attached was proclaimed two years ago, with nothing but injury to the British trade and British authority previously established there, is a

flagrant instance of the contempt and violation of the principles of economic science, and of much else, which are common in our empire-making. We have another in the treatment to which the Matabele and Mashona have been subjected since, less than ten years ago, their barbaric ruler Lobengula was cajoled into granting the concessions on the strength of which the British South Africa Company obtained licence from the Crown to start on a scheme of empire-making for itself.

Speaking more particularly of the old East India Company, but in words of general application and more pertinent now than when they were uttered, Adam Smith said, "Such exclusive companies are nuisances in every respect, always more or less inconvenient to the countries in which they are established, and destructive to those which have the misfortune to fall under their government."* The functions of the trader and the administrator, he pointed out, are essentially distinct and cannot be assigned to the same individual or group of individuals without detriment to the trade by which the whole community ought to be benefited and to the administrative machinery by which its interests should be safeguarded and enhanced. In the chartered companies of recent formation, and still in existence, effort is made by the Crown to control, if not to keep in its own hands, the administrative machinery, in order that the trade (in which term may be included all the apparatus for producing and distributing the wealth derived from the resources of the company's sphere of operations) may not be monopolized by the few to the disadvantage of the many, and that the interests of the subject natives, as well as those of the mother country and of the empire at large, may be rightly looked after. But the proceedings alike of the Royal Niger Company and of the British South Africa Company show that it is practically impossible, even if it is seriously desired, to maintain such control or to obviate abuses prejudicial both to the natives and to the white producers and con-

* "Wealth of Nations," Book IV., Chapter VII., Part 3.

sumers for whose supposed benefit they are sanctioned, and that their existence is a constant, though it may be only occasionally a grave, source of peril to the whole empire. That like abuses and risks occur in dependencies under the direct rule of the Crown, or of officials immediately and exclusively responsible to it, is no warrant for the establishment of chartered companies, though the fact indicates the importance of more cautious and effective control by the Crown than is at present ensured.

The only justification for imperial expansion, whether by means of such trading opportunities as it is now being sought to widen and deepen in China or by means of such protectorates and the like as are now being multiplied and enlarged in Africa, is that it brings advantage to the British nation, and is, to say the least, not injurious to the inhabitants of the regions over which it is proposed to exercise influence or authority. The first condition of success, and therefore a clear obligation from an economic point of view, is that the right to exercise such influence or authority, of whatever kind, shall be honestly acquired, and, in so far as it is enforced at all, shall be honestly enforced. In most of the districts not already appropriated, rightly or wrongly, by Great Britain or by one or other of our European rivals, and especially in by far the larger part of Africa, real colonization by Europeans is scarcely practicable. Their inhabitants can be traded with, and to some extent governed, by white men, willing for these purposes to risk their health or stint their comforts during their residence there. But they can never be extensively peopled by white men, except perhaps through such mixture of races as is plentiful in all tropical countries, but usually with very unsatisfactory results. Almost the only people who can live and thrive in those districts are the natives, or others similarly constituted; and the experiment of transplanting to one uncivilized region the more or less uncivilized natives of another has seldom been even approximately successful. Thus, there are ample grounds, as a mere matter of

expediency, for treating the natives fairly and generously. If regions in which they, but only they or such as they, can prosper are to be materially improved, the work must be accomplished mainly by them and through their improvement. White people may and should instruct and assist them, and, if they are prepared to do this discreetly and honourably, a limit can scarcely be set to the developments that appear possible. In the two millions or more square miles of which Great Britain claims to have possession, present or prospective, in Africa there are probably, on an average and outside Cape Colony and Natal, fewer than twenty inhabitants to the square mile. This population might be doubled or quadrupled, with far more than proportionate increase of the material wealth of the country and bettering of the conditions of life in it, and with corresponding gain to those having dealings with its inhabitants, buying their produce and supplying their wants, if they had such guidance as they have a right to expect.

More and better guidance than was formerly thought of is being given in some of our dependencies. In West Africa, where in the old days scarcely anything was attempted beyond coaxing the more debased natives to steal other natives and exchange them for cheap guns and gunpowder, cheap rum, and other agencies of further debasement, and where still many tribes in well-nigh the lowest depths of savagery and barbarism continue to be corrupted by trade almost as vicious, other tribes, more capable of enlightenment perhaps, are now being encouraged in industrial and agricultural pursuits profitable to themselves and serviceable to all around them. In South Africa we see the Basutos, saved from the ruin with which they were threatened when they were under the domination of Cape Colony, now prospering and progressing, while their neighbours in British Bechuanaland are being crushed and crippled by the Cape Colony methods at present in operation there. And in Australasia there is similar contrast between the improved condition of the New

Zealand Maoris since they began to be treated as human beings, though the wrongs formerly done to them have left injuries that can never be repaired or atoned for, and the fate of the aborigines of Queensland and Western Australia, who, as in the case of kindred races in other parts of the enormous island of which white men have already made themselves the sole possessors, are being shot down or flogged or starved to death. There appears to be less vitality, and also less adaptability to European habits and requirements, in most of the Australasian native communities than in most of those of Africa, where, moreover, climatic and other conditions render it less difficult than in either the southern or the northern temperate zone for the earlier occupants to maintain the struggle for existence against European aggressors. But everywhere the law of the survival of the fittest, in so far as human beings have a share in its operations, can be worked out either in rational or in irrational ways, and there ought to be no doubt as to its being our duty to prefer the former.

The rational ways are plainly indicated in the methods of helping Africans to help themselves, which I have just referred to. They are at present in only the experimental stage, slight and crude in themselves, and very limited in range; but they are all the more significant, because of their marked success amid unfavourable surroundings, and because they so strangely differ from the methods of misrule which are much more general in the same portions of the British Empire. While, for instance, we are teaching a few West Africans to clear their forests and their swamps, to cultivate their lands and stock them with new and suitable plants sent out from Kew and other botanical centres, while by these and like judicious arrangements we are inclining and enabling them to become prosperous and loyal subjects of the Crown, and while we find them apt and eager pupils, we are goading their kinsmen in far greater numbers into frantic defiance of our wanton interference with some of their institutions, and of our perverse

and suicidal adoption of others. Many of these institutions are barbarous in the extreme, and must be got rid of before the first step towards civilization can be taken. But they can only be got rid of by offering something better in their stead, and by showing that it is better. We traded for generations with the benighted savages in the delta of the Niger, on the way to Abeokuta, Salaga, and Kumasi, off the Sierra Leone coast, and elsewhere, pandering by our trade to their superstitions and cruelties, and doing next to nothing to civilize them, before we suddenly undertook to punish them for their lack of civilization. There has been plenty of punishing within the past few years; but the survivors among our victims are still as uncivilized as ever, and even the traders of Liverpool and Manchester, in whose supposed interests we have mainly adopted these tactics, bitterly complain that we are merely killing off and frightening away their customers and ruining their trade.

Men of science may hereafter add to their other marvellous achievements the devising of some process by which the Ethiopian will be able to change his skin. It should be much easier, and it is much more their duty, for those who profess themselves followers of the founder of Christianity, as do most if not all of our English empire-makers, to bring about such changes in the Ethiopian's moral condition as, along with the changes in his material condition and surroundings which it is quite within the competence of scientists and incumbent upon them to procure, will enable him to participate in all the advantages of civilization, and, thus benefiting himself, to confer equal or even greater benefit on his helpers. The rule at present, with only such exceptions as go to prove that it is the rule, is, in so far as any heed whatever is given to the Ethiopian (applying the term to black men in general and to all men of "inferior race"), either to daub his skin with some pigment that neither whitens nor in any way refines it, or violently to tear it off and expect him, in his painful and unhealthy state, to at once become a civilized being. This, surely, is

as foolish from an economic as it is wrong from an ethical point of view.

However high or however low may be the standard of civilization to which an ignorant savage may be raised, the rise can only be gradual, and by steps which he is able to take, and as to the reasonableness of which he can be convinced. As he is when we first make acquaintance with him, he is usually quite ready to trade with us, to barter for such commodities as we offer to him some of his land and its produce, to learn from us how to augment that produce and how to profit by any wealth we enable him to acquire. But he is bound by traditions and superstitions that, however debased and debasing, are as much a matter of religion and social polity to him as are our faiths and principles to us. The institution of slavery has lasted, in Africa especially, from times when it was in vogue with the Greeks and Romans and Jews to whom we owe most of our enlightenment, and the aggravation of its evils in later days is mainly due to the outside slave trade in which Europeans took the lead. For the polygamy and its un-economic concomitants that we reprobate in savages there are venerable precedents and practical excuses still prevailing in civilized and Christian communities, and certainly not rendered less objectionable by the subterfuges and hypocrisies incident to them among ourselves. The fetichism, the ghost-worship, the witch-doctoring, and other perversions and diversions of religion among black men, which are denounced as gross and coarse idolatry, are more uncouth and perhaps more mischievous, but are probably more genuine, than some of the expedients favoured by priests and theologians in Europe for playing upon the hopes and fears of people not willing or not able to dispense with supernaturalism. These things and more should be remembered by those who propose to ruthlessly punish ignorant savages for their ignorant savagery, and who think that they can suddenly be converted by violence from the error of their ways. Let us convert them to

better ways, by all means, provided the means are reasonable, and conducive to the end in view. But let us understand that resort to other means will but intensify the evil it is desired to lessen, and do harm instead of good to the people whom we are anxious to civilize, for our advantage if not for theirs, to have profitable trade with, and to make respectable and serviceable subjects of the Crown and members of the British Empire. That is being done, or at any rate honestly attempted, in some parts, and the economic gains thus and there secured indicate the general lines of economic policy which should be pursued in all. Having planted the British flag in new territories, primarily with the intention and in expectation that trade shall follow it, and having discovered that in the interests of trade and whatever contributes to trade extension, it is expedient or may be necessary to establish some sort of effective rule over the inhabitants, it is incumbent on us for our own sake as well as for theirs to see that the rule is such, and only such, as will be really beneficial to them. We should make the best of their institutions, even if we object to them, until they can be intelligently and voluntarily superseded by better arrangements.

Nearly all over Africa, and in many other districts, most of these institutions—even those concerned with religion, where the people are not Mohammedans—have their origin and base in a rude sort of feudalism, mixed with more communism than was allowed to remain in the social system out of which mediæval feudalism took shape in Western Europe. All the land of a tribe is common property, except that temporary possession of so much as is required for their huts and their gardens is assigned to individuals or families. There is individual ownership of the results of individual labour or enterprise of any sort, but, where cattle and other large animals are bred, most of them, like the lands on which they pasture, are common property, the chief of the tribe—who, of course, is generally by far the largest individual owner in it—being responsible for

the protection and up-keep of all this common property. The system is varied indefinitely in different tribes and districts, in some of which the chief is practically lord of all and absolute master of his followers, while in others he is little more than the trustee of his tribesmen and executant of their wishes ; but, broadly speaking, it is the prevalent system throughout the portions of Africa in which the native communities are sufficiently organized to have any corporate mechanism, and have not been brought under complete subjection to powerful despots of their own or alien race. Some alien despotisms set up by Mohammedan and so-called Arab conquerors are famous, and, in spite of their extension of the slave trade and its attendant evils, have done much in other ways to raise the standard of civilization among the people. Except in their forcible religious propagandism, the Moslem potentates have been far more tolerant of the institutions of their pagan subjects than the European intruders. It is through arbitrary interference with these institutions, by our discrediting of native laws and customs, especially as regards the tenure of land and the rights of property, by our deposing of native chiefs without replacing their authority by any efficient or more equitable scheme of government, and by like proceedings, that most of our "little wars" and great appropriations of territory have been brought about. English aggressors, professing to abolish slavery, have not scrupled to revive it under the form of forced labour, nor have they shrunk from perpetrating far more "human sacrifices," by means of Maxim guns and the other deadly weapons used in mowing down comparatively defenceless foemen, than their victims are responsible for. The result, where these things have happened, has been chaos rather than order, and, what here concerns us more than the violation of all ethical principles, economic failure. Economic laws, no less than the data of ethics, prescribe that in the setting up of protectorates and the like over uncivilized people whom we want to trade with us and serve us, to

buy our wares and to provide for our use the material wealth which their lands can be made to yield, but which they are too ignorant or too apathetic to obtain in anything like full measure for themselves, we shall extend to them what we call the blessings of civilization instead of taking lessons from them in savagery.

"To found a great empire for the sole purpose of raising up a people of customers," said Adam Smith, from whom I may conclude as I began by quoting, "may at first sight appear a project fit only for a nation of shopkeepers." "It is, however," he proceeded to urge, "a project altogether unfit for a nation of shopkeepers."* His arguments in support of this view were in part fallacious, and they are in part inapplicable to the present conditions of our empire-making. But were he living now he would be able to adduce weightier evidence than offered itself in his day, if not against the policy of "founding a great empire for the sole purpose of raising up a people of customers;" at any rate against the impolicy of not allowing and helping the "people of customers" whom it is proposed to raise up to benefit both themselves and this "nation of shopkeepers" by utilising, to the fullest extent, the resources at their hand. Our self-governing colonies are working out their own schemes, wise or foolish, of economic development. It is for political economists at home to exert all the influence they can on the statesmen who are responsible for the protectorates, spheres of influence, and so forth, which have become stupendous in the course of the past twelve or fifteen years, with a view to their being rightly used and not misused. "The discovery of America and that of a passage to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope," Adam Smith averred in 1775, "are the two most important events recorded in the history of mankind," and he was doubtful as to whether the ensuing advantages or misfortunes preponderated. Other events as important in sequence to them, if not their direct consequences, have

* "Wealth of Nations," Book IV., Chapter VII., Part 3.

since occurred, and we may say of them, as he said of the others, "By uniting, in some measure, the most distant parts of the world, by enabling them to relieve one another's wants, to increase one another's enjoyments, and to encourage one another's industry, their general tendency would seem to be beneficial." Must we add with him, in yet more comprehensive terms, and with special application to Africa, "To the natives, however, both of the East and the West Indies, all the commercial benefits which can have resulted from these events have been sunk and lost in the dreadful misfortunes they have occasioned"?

That is hardly the case now. It need never be the case. But if risks of failure in our empire-making, and disasters to the conquerors as well as to the conquered, are to be averted, it is necessary that the work shall be done in strict observance of economic and just principles.

THE POETS OF THE TAMIL LANDS.

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VI. THE NĀLAḌI NĀNNŪRRU, OR 400 QUATRAINS, AND THE
LATER TAMIL GNOMIC POETRY.

§ 1. INTRODUCTORY.

It is sometimes said that gnomic verse is not poetry. Yet if the faculty of taking the thoughts that most occupy minds, the ideas that all men acknowledge, the feelings that inspire all hearts, and of giving to them such perfect expression, that they shall be recalled by all the people everywhere, and become the favourite commonplaces of all who speak the language,—if this faculty be not the poetic faculty, it is something so closely allied to it that, for the gnomic bards of South India (some of whom not unfrequently take a flight into higher regions, on the wings of imagination, intense feeling and profound thought), we feel inclined to vindicate the title of genuine poets.

Before we proceed to the consideration of the other poets that have written didactic or gnomic verses in Tamil, it is necessary to remark that very early in the history of Tamil literature, probably about the time of Kabilar, the learned men of Madura, and it may be of other places, began the preparation and publication (if we may call it so) of a whole series of books which profess to be collections, compendiums, or anthologies, of poetry on different topics. To these the name of *togai* or abstracts was given. Thus the collection called the Four Hundred Quatrains (*Nālaḍi Nānnūrru*) gave what were supposed to be the gems of that species of composition,—moral epigrams. Four hundred larger lyrics were gathered together which had been sung or supposed to be sung by ancient bards on matters connected with active life (*Porul*). Many similar collections of great value have been published, and generally in collections of four hundred poems, or verses ; though some in which the poems are longer are in tens or hundreds. The chief of these valuable works will be noticed hereafter.

In the case of all these compilations there is good ground to believe that changes have been made in the text, and that some poems have been composed to fill up the number. But in general they represent the most valuable remnants of ancient Tamil literature, and it is only recently that they have been brought out of obscurity, collated and published by the very learned and enlightened Tamil scholars of the day.

It may also be mentioned that some of these contain very important passages of a didactic character, which have been made the foundation of a great deal of the more popular recent poetry.

No doubt many things in this remarkable literature say more to us than they did to those for whom they were first written. Many of these epigrammatic masterpieces have a profound significance, of which their authors themselves perhaps were hardly conscious. Their resemblance to the gnomic poetry of Greece is remarkable as to their subjects, their sentiments, and the state of society when they were uttered.

In regard to both Avvaiyār and Kabilar (of whom we have given some account), it might be possible to number them among the gnomic poets, but they were authors also of lyric and romantic compositions. Tiru-Vaḷḷuvar, of course, is the prince of gnomic poets; but his exquisite metre, the couplet called the *Kurral*, separates him from all the rest. Avvaiyār's quatrains we have spoken of, but it is only the *Muthurai* that can claim our attention here. Though not high imaginative poetry, the grace, ease, simplicity, perfect classical propriety, striking ingenuity, and homely sweetness of these thirty quatrains—a necklace of pearls worthy of the neck of Sarasvati—are quite unimaginable to a western mind. They are not great, but they are wonderfully charming!

In passing from the *Kurral* to the next in popular esteem, the *Nālaḍiyyār*, and other gnomic poetry, we are struck by the fact that except Tiru-Vaḷḷuvar there is really no great poet who has composed any number of couplets. We believe that the couplet itself was the result of an attempt (scarcely successful in other and weaker hands) to condense a quatrain into a perfect gem: "an arrow of song." The *Veṇbā* quatrain, which is the normal metre of the gnomic bards, is, as a rule, complete in itself. A notable exception to this is the famous *Nala Venbā* (History of Naḷa). This quatrain (see introduction to Pope's *Nālaḍiyyār*) consists of two lines which rhyme (at the beginning), followed by a single foot which rhymes with the preceding line, and connects them with another couplet having its own rhyme, and being in fact a *Kurral*. This is a kind of miniature sonnet, the first couplet often strikes the keynote, the single foot prepares the transition, and the latter couplet contains the whole point and application of the verse. There is an inexpressible charm about a perfect quatrain. Of these (very generally consummately beautiful) quatrains the *Nālaḍi* contains 400. We must again remark that during the later days of the Madura school of poetry (or college) the learned men set themselves to gather together and arrange the scattered fragments of verse that had come down the stream of time (a few of them) from, it seems to us, about the date of the Christian era. That Madura was a great and civilized city in the time of Augustus is certain, and it seems probable that these epitomes, as well as the oldest grammars, contain fragments of Tamil verse dating from that period. These poems for some reason or other are arranged into groups of 400 compositions. The *Nālaḍi* contains 400 quatrains; the *Purra-Nānnūrru* is made up of 400 songs varying in length from four to forty lines, and these are not unlike the canzoni of Italian poetry. The *Kali-Togai* is a series of lyrics, each of which reads like a short act of a drama, and elucidates some theme, generally amatory. There are nine of these epitomes, of which only five are really known at present.

It is evident that the compilers took great liberties with their material,

and it is very hard in all cases to believe in the authenticity and genuineness of many of the fragments. These are however, in very many cases, their own abundant and striking evidence.

§ 2. THE NĀLADI,* OR 400 QUATRAINS.

The work, then, which stands next in estimation to the *Kurral* among the Tamil people is the *Nālaḍi-nānnurru*, or 400 Quatrains. Of this we need say little as it has been made fully accessible to both English and Tamil students. The tradition regarding it is that 8,000 sages brought their verses to the king of Madura, who, to test their worth, caused the palmyra leaves on which they were written to be thrown into the river Vaigai. Those that floated against the current were to be preserved. Three collections of leaves stood the test; one was found to contain these 400, and the two others consisted of similar collections of verses, which are extant under the names of *Paṇa-moṇi* = "Old words" (see § 9) and *Arra-nerri-ḡāram* = "Essence of the way of Virtue." (See § 10.) The two latter works are inferior, and are noticed later on.

I suppose that the meaning of the tradition is, that these are verses of various ancient Tamil poets, which the stream of time has not been able to sweep away into oblivion. Since they were not allowed to perish, they may be presumed to have been the most worthy compositions of those olden times.

They are, however, of very unequal value, often obscure, sometimes trivial. The prevailing tone is cynical, and we miss in them the healthy humanity of Tiruvalluvar. They have been forced by a later native editor into an arrangement harmonizing with that of the *Kurral*; the result of which is, that the title of a chapter often affords no clue to its contents. Some few are of much later date, I think, than the *Kurral*, and seem to indicate an acquaintance with it. The following are fair specimens :

THE FUNERAL.

They march and then strike once. A little while they wait,
Then strike a second time the drum. Behold, how brave !
The third stroke sounds : they veil it, take the fire, go forth :—
The dying bear the dead !

SUMMER FRIENDS.

Lord of the goodly land, adown whose hilly heights,
Cool, clear, the torrents ceaseless flow. The beetle bright
With many a beauteous spot, seeks not the bloomless bough :—
The unprosperous have no friends.

(Comp. Hor. I., xxxv. 25-28.)

"VANITAS VANITATUM."

Severed are friendship's ties ; minished are pleasant ones ;
Love's bonds are loosen'd too ; then look within and say,
What profit is there in this joyous life of thine ?
A wail as from the sinking ship is heard !

* "The Nālaḍiyār, or Four Hundred Quatrains in Tamil, with Introduction, Translation, and Notes Critical, Philological and Explanatory, to which is added a Concordance and Lexicon, with Authorities from the oldest Tamil Writers." By the Rev. G. U. Pope, D.D., sometime Fellow of the Madras University, Member of the Royal Asiatic Society and of the German Oriental Society. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1893.

THE GOOD HOUSEWIFE.

On every side the narrow dwelling lies exposed ;
 On every part the rain drips down ; yet, if the dame
 Has noble gifts, by townfolk praised for modest worth,
 Call such a housewife's blest abode a *home* !

PENITENCE.

As when lamp enters darkness flies, so sin stands not
 Before man's penitence. As when in lamp the oil
 Wastes, darkness rushes in ; so evil takes its place
 Where deeds of virtue cease.

VARIOUS PARADOXES.

The unintelligent may read but are unread !
 Men of intelligence unread are men well read !
 In utter penury who scorn to beg are rich !
 And poor are *wealthy men* who give no gifts.

SALT AND SWEET WATERS.*

" Though close by the sea, sweet waters oftentimes spring forth there ; on the hill-side the waters often gush out all brine ! Thus men are not as their race. Lord of the dashing sea's cool shore ! Men are as their minds." (245.)

Compare Tiruvalluvar's (595) : " The height of men is measured by their minds."

§ 3. NĀN-MANI-KADAGAI : " THE SALVER OF FOUR GEMS."

The *Nān-maṇi-Kaḍigai* is similar in subjects and manner to the *Nālaḍi*, consisting of quatrains in the same metre.

A useful edition was published at the " Kalā-ratnāgara " Press, with a good Tamil commentary and notes ; and a very poor English translation. It is by *Vilambiya Kāganār*, who, some say, lived in the fifteenth century ; and seems to have been modelled after the *Elāthi*.

The printed work contains 106 quatrains ; but a MS., once belonging to Mr. Stokes, gives only 101. Many are very modern ; some are exceedingly elegant ; but more are rather rugged and pedantic. Parallel verses to most of them occur in Böhtlingk's *Indische Sprüche*. A work of this name is mentioned second in the list of Sanga-Çeyyul, or poems that received the sanction of the Madura College, but it seems to have been, at the best, only the germ of this cento.

A few specimens of this homely " household " poetry will not be uninteresting.

* Another bard, whose epithet was " Owner of the Elephant that Chews the Sugar-Cane," and who is otherwise unknown, has composed an interesting bit on the same theme, but with a different application :

THE SEA AND THE STREAMLET.

'Tis shame to say to wealthy men, " Give ye " ;
 Sorer disgrace when these say, " We give not " ;
 To say, " Take this my gift," is excellent ;
 To say, " I take not," is more excellent.
 Who thirst for water will not stoop to drink
 On the sea's marge where sparkling wavelets spread
 Of water crystal clear.—Though cows and sheep
 Thick thronging make the banks one muddy mass,
 And though the streamlet trickles scant and slow,
 There's well-trod path to where sweet waters flow !

WEALTH.

From the rock the radiant gem is born ;
From the dear one's speech high joys are born ;
From gentle kindliness is virtuous action born ;
And everything from wealth is born. (7.)

The following is suggestive :

THE SENSES AND REALITY.

By the tongue men know sweet flavours ; by the nose
They smell and know all flowers ; by discerning eyes
They see what is ornamental ; by thoughtful search
Of many combined the real is thought out. (78.)

"THE HEART KNOWS ITS OWN BITTERNESS."

The trouble from *today* the drunkard knows ;
The trouble from water among birds the sea-gull knows ;
The trouble from poverty the master of many wives knows
The trouble of concealment knows the thief. (97.)

NATURE.

Though foulness light upon the pearl, its worth's the same ;
Anoint it, yet will rust upon the iron spread ;
In fetters bind the BASE, and give him light of lore,
He still will show his nature's stain. (100.)

"Not to sever from the excellent and wise is an education ;
To live with those who cherish us not is a sore ;
The word uttered by friends is as the tuneful lute ;
The house without a courteous housewife is as a waste." (101.)
So in Nālaḍi 361.

WORDS.

"Sweet words make men your own. Harsh words
Unpleasing cause men's hearts to harshly blame.
A gentle word
Brings gracious thoughts to human hearts. By this
The heaven that passes not is gained." (106.)

§ 4. THE "THREE SPICES": TIRIKADUGAM.

Tirikaḍugam is from Sanskrit, and means *composed of three spices*. These spices are dry ginger, long pepper, and black pepper, and form a very popular stimulating and restorative medicine. Here each stanza, of which there are 100, introduces three things for comparison, contrast, or illustration. It is a fascinating though very fantastic little cento.

The reputed author is *Nallāthanār*, mentioned as a member of the Madura College, of whom nothing is really known. It is impossible to assign an earlier date to this work as a whole than the fifteenth century, though many lines are exceedingly ancient.

Parallels to most of the verses will be found in Böhtlingk's Sanskrit Analecta.

YOUTH is by nature apt to slide away from right ;
FOLLY is mighty to utter things forbidden ;
And evermore
MEANNESS indulges in angry passions !—
These three the wise will shun. (14.)

The man undisciplined who raves, and thus his cause would win
 The man who eagerly desires what cannot be ;
 From mere report
 Who finds fault with others' learning ;
 These three beat chaff in a mortar ! (28.)

"Self conceit and extolling one's self ;
 Anger fostered, and not suppressed ;
 And MEANNESS
 That COVETS the possessions of others ; these three
 Are instruments that destroy fortune." (38.)

A HORSE not well broken in to his paces ;
 An ELEPHANT that breaks the post to which he is tied ;
 And the SCHOOL
 Of him who grows angty while he teaches ;
 These three the wise will ever shun. (46.)

Acquire WEALTH in order to give ; in virtue's way
 That you may walk study GREAT WORKS ;
 With gracious purpose
 Speak thou each WORD ; these three paths
 Conduct not to the dark and painful world. (90.)

To speak thoughtlessly about life while it is enjoyed ;
 To say, *we've lost it*, when the end is nigh ;
 And to feel shame (for sins) when disease comes and the body fails :
 These three are characteristics of short-lived mortals. (91.)

§ 5. "THE FIVE PRECIOUS PERFUMES": *ĒLATHI*.

The name is Sanskrit. The five are (1) "cardamom" = a perfumed confection of cardamom seeds ; (2) "camphor" ; (3) *Erikāṇu*, "an odorous wood" ; (4) "sandalwood paste" ; and (5) "honey."

This mingling of perfumes is used for the hair. This title is given to a collection of 81 gnomic verses in which each quatrain is supposed to combine, compare, and illustrate five (or six) things.

The work is of Jain origin. Its author's name is *Kanimēthaiyar* (= "he whose knowledge is appreciated (by all) "). It is one of the eighteen lesser classics : *Saṅga-ṣeyyul*. Of the author nothing is really known, except that he is styled a disciple of Mākkāyanār, a learned *āṣiriyār*, or pandit, one of the Madura Academy. It is probably not of much later date than the *Nālaḍi* itself ; and is once quoted by the Commentator on the Jivaga Chintāmaṇi. The Madras edition of 1887 is here referred to. There is a very useful commentary. Perhaps a careful study of *Elāthi* will more than that of any other minor poet, help the learner to understand the *Nālaḍi*, and the whole body of Tamil didactic verse. We give a few specimens.

"Sages of gentle soul have laid it down, enlarging on the theme, that six qualities belong to loving souls : (1) neither survives the other, (2) they share their wealth, (3) they hold sweet intercourse of speech, (4) they joy to meet, (5) share one another's pain, (6) and grieve to part." (69.)

"To die is easy ; to attain perfection hard !
 To desire good is easy ; to put on truth hard !
 To set out in pursuit of the right is easy ; to be steadfast hard !
 To gain triumphs as accomplished scholars easy ; hard to reach heaven !" (40.)

"Thou whose dark eye is beautiful and wide !
O swan in form ! Who feel the truth will speak
The truth away !
Lying, slander, harsh words and useless words—these four
From lips of fools alone proceed." (29.)

The following contains a striking description of the goal reached by the sage :

HEAVEN.

"If one would tell of the excellence of the pure and lofty goal, which sages from falsehood free have sought out and desired as the only reality ; (in that place) there is no light that dispels darkness, no speech, no change, no weariness, no suffering, no sweet sleep." (67.)

(No light, since no darkness : no words ; no increase or diminution of joy ; . . . no sweetness of repose, because no toil.)

THE PERISHABLE AND IMPERISHABLE.

"Youth passes swiftly away, disease and eld draw nigh,
Bright flowers of wealth and strength fade fast.
While life is thine, desire thou not earth's gifts,
(Thou whose words as milk are sweet !)
Desire release. The law is this." (22.)
(A finished verse in Tamil.)

SYMPATHY IS NOBLE COURTESY.

"When death, or loss, or hate, or griefs, or joys,
Or foolish babble of the people's tongues,
Befall one's friends,—
To feel with them, and share their joys and griefs,
This is in truth the noblest COURTESY." (80.)

DEATH.

"He fears not sword ; dreads not bravery : respects not beauty ; shrinks not from any hero ; is not dismayed by any assemblage of resources ; fails not his day :—therefore, if you see death's coming imminent, betake yourself to the studies that relate to release." (23.)

"He goes not away though one weep ; he knows no dread ; if one lament aloud he hears not ; if one spring up he does not relinquish his hold ; he does not depart, saying, *these are helpless ones* ; though one pay him reverence he goes not ! Why do men not ponder *death's* power, and labour in works of penitential expiation ? To remain idle is surely a fault !" (38.)

§ 6. NANNERRI—"THE GOOD WAY."

This consists of forty quatrains by Çiva-piragāṣa-çuvāmi of Turraimangalam. He was a Çaivite Guru. They are printed in "Minor Poets," and separately. These though comparatively modern (seventeenth century) are classical and of great value. Every verse has its apt, and often very ingenious simile.

The whole would well bear translation. We give four.

"The great wealth of those who render no assistance to others
Shall become the possession of those who render such help !
Thus the mighty sea
Whose accumulated waters render aid to none,*
The cloud shall drink up, and pour in rain upon the world." (35.)

* It quenches no man's thirst, and invigorates no man's field.

The excellent think not of their own wants
But supply the wants of others !

Thus the moon
Seeks not to remove the stain of its own spots,
But chases the darkness that spreads over the world. (39.)

In the wide ocean-girt world delight thou
In pleasant words, and not in harsh ones !
Damsels with golden bracelets !

The sea rises not up to meet the sun's fierce fiery rays,
But rises at the bidding of the cool-rayed moon. (40.)

The friendship of the good will daily increase in sweetness ;
Others' friendship will ever more and more become worthless !
Hear, O beloved !

If the tender fruit ripen, it becomes sweet to the taste ;
If the twig grow mature what pleasure's there ? (51.)

§ 7. ÇIRRU-PAÑJA-MŪLAM.

This is a collection in which five things are compared, and from this fact it gets its name, which really signifies "the collection of fivefold analogies." It is not very much in use, but is like the others remarkable for terse graceful expression of quite commonplace or obvious ideas ; but to give to homely pleasant thoughts such form and expression as shall make them dear to successive generations, to all classes, and to every age, is a distinguished merit, and these quatrains possess it. We shall give a few specimens only. The Tamil scholar will doubtless find easy access to good editions with commentary.

GAINS.

"The learned man will gain gold.
The gain of good verse is its meaning.
What gain is there from disputation ?
What gain from the musical instrument which a man has not beforehand learnt to use ?
When the unlearned seek the society of the learned their gain is derision !"

AMBROSIA.

"A chaste wife is ambrosia.
A learned man of disciplined mind is ambrosia.
A country well taught is ambrosia.
To a country whose banners reach the clouds the king is ambrosia.
And the servant that does his duty is ambrosia !"

RUIN.

Forgetfulness is ruin ; the pride of wealth is ruin ;
Immaturity is ruin ; so is obstinacy ;
To be at variance with his labourers is always ruin to the cultivator !

BEAUTY.

"The beauty of the eye is benevolence ;
The beauty of the leg is firmness ;
The beauty of calculation is correct numbering ;
The beauty of music is its charm for the ear ;
The beauty of the king is the prosperity of his land."

"The beauty of wavy locks, the beauty of rounded form
The beauty of nails and ears,
The beauty of the teeth, these are not real beauty
To speak as true wisdom teaches is beauty."

§ 8. "THINGS SWEET AND BITTER."

There are forty Tamil quatrains in which are enumerated the things that are supposed to yield abiding "pleasure" to men; and forty in which are given those things which on the contrary cause "pain." These verses are not of any particular merit, but are constantly quoted. The author is said to be by an old Madura sage named *Cēnthanār*, but nothing is really known as to their origin. They are quite classical in style. We give a specimen of each.

GARDENING.

Let pleasant words be the fertile soil, benevolence the seed,
Weed out harsh words, add manure of truthfulness,
Water the crop with love, and so cultivate
The tender herb of virtue from thine earliest days.

LOVE.

Right pleasant is life with those with whom we are at one;
Pleasant to see the full moon in the wide fields of heaven;
But to be unblameable in deed, and with a tender soul
To be loving unto all is truly sweet. (4.)

The weapon wielded by a powerless arm is nought;
The beauty of a flower no fragrance breathes is nought;
The resolution of the man without clear knowledge is nought;
And so the speech of him who knows not use of words!

The desire of the destitute to do benevolent deeds is vain;
To dwell in a city of palaces to the poor man is vain;
To feast upon the mere sight of a cookhouse is vain;
Friendship of those who desert you in adversity is vain!

§ 9. "OLD WORDS": *Para-mōri*.

Under this title a number of quatrains exist which are of considerable interest, and are founded on actual proverbs. From this the collection takes its title. In our account of the *Nālaḍi* it will be seen that two collections of verses were supposed to have been preserved with that work, though they reached the bank at different places (See Introduction, p. ix). Their actual antiquity is perhaps doubtful, but their value and classical character cannot be questioned. We subjoin a few specimens.

When our friends speak in our praise it is well
To ignore the soft words, and disclaim the praise.

Lord of the Hill where bamboos wave!

Men put not on jewels that become them not,
Even though the jewels are their own!

When worthless people chatter senseless things
'Tis hard to stop their tongues.

Lord of the shore,

Where ships are seen reeling like drunken men!
There are none who can tie up the winds.

When a man possesses wealth and worldly greatness,
If he be not of a truly disciplined mind,
The exaltation of such an ignoble person
Is like *putting a torch into a monkey's hand.*

The silly man who speaks evil words, and hides his malice,
Will bring himself to grief by his speech,

O lovely maid !

The frog hides himself in the sand, and lies concealed,—
But by his croak he betrays himself.

Wealth that knows no sum, high birth, all kingly adjuncts,
And to be named as worthy by the king,
Are not great things. Here and hereafter
To possess one's self is greatness !

Those who possess stores of rare wealth
Need not to seek men to perform their behests.

Lord of the land

Where the heron sleeps on the buffalo's shoulder !
When you've dug a tank you need not seek for frogs.

§ 10. "THE ESSENCE OF THE WAY OF VIRTUE": *Arra-nerri-Āram.*

This is a small collection that like "Old Words" is reputed to have escaped the flood with the Nālaḍi. It is like the former, but not quite so proverbial in character.

PROCRASTINATION.

"The men of excellence will say we will perform
Deeds of virtue betimes, and do them thoroughly.

At eventide

Man lays him down, never to rise again !—
Why do men not perform virtuous deeds betimes ?"

Soul ! I cannot gain entire power
Over thee ; whom then can I rule ?
On earth if I gain control of thee,
I have the key that opens heaven.

MONKS AND MEN.

If they abide amidst their fellow men yet rule their souls,
They are as virtuous as those who live in thickets

Where wild flowers bloom.

And in those wilds who dwelling govern not their soul,
Are as those that dwell in midmost of the town !

The housewife beloved, and one's self,—
The two together yoked,—must draw the car !

By one alone

The chariot of domestic virtue pure
Onward rolls not, but standeth still.

From day to day though it lie in the water,
The stone rarely becomes softened.

Like that stone

Base men from day to day hear virtuous teaching,
But their hearts are harder than the stone.

§ 11. NĪTI-NERRI-VILAKKAM : "*A lamp in the way of right.*"

Passing over an immense number of minor poets, I must add some mention of a work of purely native origin which within the last two hundred years has been added to the undoubted classics of the language. It is the *Nīti-nerri-vilakkam*—"The lamp in the path of righteousness."

An edition of this has been published by an admirable Tamil scholar, the late Henry Stokes, Esq., of the Madras Civil Service. The work consists of 102 quatrains, and is every way admirable; but it would require a chapter by itself. The date is about 1700 A.D.

This gives his idea of mysticism :

“Nought doubting, wav’ring not, sages explore by reason’s aid
Till all grows clear; with eye of apprehension true op’d wide,
They sleep, and see the vision clear.* In that pure mystic light
When waking life arrays itself, ’tis being’s perfect gain.” (99.)

The following is its first quatrain :

Youth is a bubble on the water; wealth’s plenitude
Is as long waves that roll on its surface;
This well-knit frame is writing traced on the water. My friends,
Why bow we not within the courts of Him, our Lord?” (1.)

The idea, that man should not survive the loss of his honour, is expressed in :

“If any would cherish sweet life, having incurred the loss of strength and honour, let them cherish it; if only they can be sure of immunity even for a little while from death!” (41.)

“However many subjects learning may be conversant with, if there be not understanding to employ it in the right place, it is profitless! Tho’ thus employed, if *power of speech* be wanting, what good is it? If this too be present, *it is as if a golden flower were to possess fragrance also.*” (5.)

§ 12. SUMMARY.

We have taken a very cursory view of the incomparable stores of didactic poetry existing in South India. In conclusion we may emphasize a few facts which are necessary to a full understanding of the claims of this department of Tamil literature.

I. The metre of all these gnomic bards is the *Veṇbā*. This is fully explained in the Introductions to the Kurraḷ and Nālaḍiṃṇār. We have only to say here that this metre is absolutely unique. The Tamil poets have not imitated the Sanskrit, as those of the other dialects of India have. They have elaborated a species of verse, more nearly resembling the Alcaic than any other, but affording greater scope for variety than that charming measure. The originality of the Tamil poets is signally shown in their metres, which are melodious, infinitely varied, and thoroughly original. The rhyme in the beginning of the line, with the constant use of alliteration and assonance, are matters that render it akin to old Keltic and Saxon poetry.

II. There has been a good deal of speculation as to the origin of many of the ideas in this South Indian poetry. It is quite certain that no part of India has been subject to so many foreign influences as the extreme south of the peninsula. From the very earliest times coasting vessels have come down the Red Sea and sailed along the western coast. Navigators borne by the Trade Winds have come over from the African shore,—Arabs, Moors and legions of others. Solomon obtained ivory, apes and peacocks from the Tamil lands. (The Hebrew word for peafowl is the

* “I sleep, but my heart waketh.”

Tamil "*tōgai*." Greeks and Romans visited Madura, to which Augustus sent an embassy. In Tamil lyric poetry we read of the *Yāvanar* (a common name for western foreigners) bringing choice *liqueurs* in golden vessels. Brāhmins, Buddhists and Jains have come down at different periods from the north, and swept over the Tamil lands. Learned men from Alexandria have taught in Mailāpūr. Armenians have had mercantile settlements, certainly from the fourth century (A.D.). Christians and Jews have had extensive settlements in the south; and at one time Nestorian Christians seem to have pervaded the whole of the Travancore country. Portuguese and Mohammadans have had wide dominion and lasting influence, and now English thoughts and convictions are making themselves felt wherever the Tamil language is spoken.

Thus the proverbial philosophy and traditions of the Tamil people contain gleanings from many and varied fields of human thought. It has been of singular value to the Tamil people to have had such a variety of influences brought to bear upon them, and especially on their proverbial poetry. We need not wonder to find here things that closely resemble Hebrew proverbs, old Sanskrit saws, Jain and Buddhist aphorisms, Arabian sentences, and in fact signs of influences wafted from every corner of the earth. Tamil men need not complain that their literature is felt by many to have traces of foreign influence, for it is only by the mingling of the thoughts of many and various minds that anything permanently valuable can be evolved. No doubt there are villages in Central Africa, or Islands in the Pacific, where their thoughts are wholly their own,—but the thoughts are shallow, and the literature scanty!

III. This gnomic poetry has had a vast influence upon Tamil character, and possesses it still. There is no doubt that in many respects the Tamil people are among the foremost in the British empire. Wherever Englishmen are found these make their way. There is no Indian dialect a knowledge of which will carry a man further than the Tamil. Tamil soldiers were with Clive in Arcot, with Coote at Porto Novo, with Forde at Masulipatam,—and, in fact, wherever a good fight had to be fought. We believe that Tamil ethical poetry has tended very much to fashion Tamil character.

IV. It is therefore to be desired that in schools and colleges the study of classical Tamil should be maintained. These quatrains are a well of good, old, strong, wholesome Tamil. They are calculated to strengthen and invigorate the character of the people. It is never good for a race to forget its old genuine literature.

V. It must be added that here and there an expression occurs that we should wish to see altered. Especially it must be noticed that a vein of fatalism and pessimism runs through a good deal of Oriental verse. The question of eliminating such things is a very difficult one, but I think the time is at hand when it will be dealt with by competent Tamil scholars. Of course nothing should be permitted to be issued with the sanction of Tamil scholarship which is not in every respect healthy literature; and this on the whole Tamil gnomic poetry is.

THE INTERNATIONAL CATALOGUE OF THE PAPYRI AND ITS RELATION TO HISTORIC RESEARCH.

BY W. MARSHAM ADAMS.

THE concurrence of no less than seven Powers in the proposal which I had the honour of submitting through Lord Cromer to the Egyptian Government, for undertaking the registration and cataloguing of the Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Papyri scattered through the Public Collections of foreign countries, and the support given to the proposal by the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, raise the project from a mere design to that of a practical undertaking, and lay the foundation of what certainly promises to be one of the most singular productions that the literary world has ever witnessed. It is therefore with much pleasure that I avail myself of your valuable Review to bring to the notice of Orientalists some particulars of the scheme which, through the powerful support of Lord Cromer and M. De Morgan, I have been so fortunate as to set on foot, and more particularly of the enlargement of Historic Research which it has in view.

Some forty or fifty years ago a knowledge of hieroglyphic was scarcely to be obtained except at great expense and no inconsiderable labour. Champollion indeed had thrown open the long-closed tomb of hieroglyphic literature; but the controversial dust which on every hand arose in clouds well-nigh choked the student who would advance into its depths. Indeed, so difficult was it to find out what to study, and on what authority to rely, that a man almost required to be an accomplished Egyptologist before he could commence the study of Egyptology. That condition of things, however, has long past away. The labours of Brugsch and Maspero and Renouf, with other authorities of scarcely less eminence, have given a clearness and accuracy to the whole field of Egyptology; while the translations and transliterations by such writers as Dr. Budge have rendered to the beginner the invaluable service of easily acquiring a familiarity with the hieroglyphic text. Nor are the opportunities for the acquisition of the language wanting as of old. At home as well as abroad facilities for that purpose are beginning to offer themselves. Oxford has secured in her Professor of Assyriology a brilliant representative also of Egyptian lore; while London, thanks to the generosity of a lady, can boast of an acknowledged Professorship of hieroglyphics. In a word, a generation of students is growing up, sparse it may be, but gradually I believe increasing in numbers, who will be enabled in early life to read these ancient documents with comparative ease; and thus to throw literally incalculable light upon all the social and political phenomena of the earliest, the most influential, and the most enduring civilization on record.

It will scarcely therefore be denied that the time has fully arrived when the public at large should enjoy some means of ascertaining what the

nature of these venerable documents may be, and where they may be consulted; but this is unfortunately far from being an easy matter. From the days when Belzoni, like another Hercules, went down into the tomb to bring back its buried treasure, a tornado of distinguished travellers and eminent explorers has passed over Egypt, sweeping with it whole clouds of papyri, and scattering them in every direction like the rain of cinders from Krakatoa, over the museums and collections of the North. From one end of Europe to the other, in Naples and in Stockholm, in London and in Vienna, at the Louvre and at the Vatican, and wherever fate may have directed them, these messengers from a long-buried past are buried again in a profound and almost forgotten silence. Each in his narrow cell, apparently for ever laid, the papyri in the European collections are wrapped for the most part in a slumber as profound and almost as secret as they enjoyed before-time in their original sepulchres. Local catalogues indeed, some of them containing much valuable information, are to be found in certain great libraries, such as M. Devéria's elaborate catalogue of the Egyptian documents at the Louvre, or that by M. Marucchi of the papyri at the Vatican. But this is unluckily not always the case, nor is there anything to indicate what institution is possessed of such documents, so that the quest after any particular papyrus resembles nothing so much as searching for the certificate of a marriage of which one does not know at what date, or in what country the ceremony was performed. Such a state of affairs was evidently to be deplored, not only by every Egyptologist, but by every lover of history; for it is impossible that the development of later communities, whether in the East or West, can be properly traced until the constitution of the earlier and more central civilization be correctly understood. And the formation of a general catalogue of the Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Papyri scattered throughout the Public Collections of Europe—for the Demotic and Greek would for various reasons be more conveniently deferred, and private Collections must for the present at least be regarded as inaccessible—seemed to me a work imperatively demanded, if progress were to be made in this deeply interesting field of research.

But how to achieve this formidable task? For a private individual to attempt such an undertaking were clearly hopeless; while even an ordinary Government might encounter serious difficulty in obtaining the necessary particulars from the curators of independent countries. One country, and one alone, seemed to me to be pointed out by circumstances as the natural executor of the undertaking, viz., the country to which the papyri originally belonged. If the Egyptian Government were to address the various Powers requesting them to obtain from the curators of the museums belonging to their respective countries lists of the papyri in their possession, with such particulars as might be required, they would probably—and the event has proved the supposition correct—receive in the majority of cases a courteous and favourable response. A natural channel also for approaching the Khedive's Government was to be found in our representative, Lord Cromer; but even in this initial stage the international character of the undertaking began to assert itself, for it seemed essential to obtain the support of the distinguished French representative of archæology in Egypt,

M. De Morgan, director of the Egyptian museum at Boulaq, upon whom in great measure the burden of execution would presumably fall.

Accordingly, since the matter was one wherein it was open for anyone to move interested in the development of human society, I took the opportunity when visiting Egypt about two years ago, after informally consulting certain distinguished scholars, of explaining my views to Lord Cromer, and laying before him the details, a knowledge of which appeared to me to be necessary for the purpose—viz., the number or press-mark of each papyrus in its local catalogue, the name of the monarch to whose reign the papyrus is attributed, the character of the text whether hieroglyphic or hieratic, the place where the document was discovered and the name of the discoverer. Where also the nature of the contents was already known to the curator or easily ascertainable by him from documents in his own possession and without reference to any external authority, I proposed that it should be classified by a single word, either as "Religious," "Historical," or "Miscellaneous," the Scientific and Moral Papyri being classified with the Religious, from which there is often no little difficulty in distinguishing them. And to these details were subsequently added the dimensions and state of preservation of the papyrus.

In drawing up this list two considerations had great weight with me. In the first place the production of the papyri ranges over such an immense period of time that the primary element of importance relative to any papyrus is the epoch to which it is attributed. And while, therefore, it is essential that the International Register should follow the order of the papyri in the Local Lists, the International Catalogue would be of little value, unless the papyri were arranged, not in local, but historical order. On the other hand, it is of the greatest importance that no particulars should be requested except such as in the majority of cases would be ascertainable by the curators without the necessity of translating the text; since, if the examination of the MSS. by experts in hieroglyphic were involved, the time required for the catalogue would be practicably without limit. Nor was this the only, or indeed the chief, reason why I was anxious to omit any such attempt as is made in some cases at a précis or detailed account of the contents of the documents; for the result would appear calculated rather to injure than advance the object in view, by substituting a superficial for an accurate knowledge. Even to a scholar the temptation to rely for his statements upon so convenient an authority, instead of making a journey, it may be, half across Europe to consult the original MS., would be almost excusable, whereas little experience in research is needed to show how large a portion of error in history is due to the acceptance of convenient substitutes for original documents. At the same time, it cannot be denied that an analysis of the principal papyri, more particularly of such as relate to matters of history, might, if performed with judgment, supply a valuable work of reference. But its execution seems more fitted for the individual Governments to which the papyri belong, who would appoint their own experts to analyze them at their leisure.

Upon receipt of my communication Lord Cromer promised me that he would take an early opportunity of consulting M. De Morgan, who hap-

pened to be away at the time. And shortly after my return to England I received a letter from his lordship stating that, having received the cordial support of M. De Morgan, he had laid my proposal before Boutros Pasha, the Egyptian Minister for Foreign Affairs; and that His Excellency had sent out a circular to the representatives of His Highness' Government, a copy of which he courteously forwarded to me, instructing them to request the Powers to obtain for them the necessary particulars. In addition to the catalogue of the papyri, His Excellency requested that materials should be obtained for a supplementary catalogue of the Egyptian curiosities and relics of antiquity contained in the various museums; a proposition which, if illustration were afforded by the various Governments, would alone give rise to a series of volumes of remarkable interest, only second in importance to the catalogue of the papyri. Nor can I here refrain from pointing out that such relics possess a power of appealing to the public eye which is altogether wanting in the writings, so that collectively they would furnish a lesson of the most striking character as to the nature and extent of that primæval civilization. And if a stranger may be permitted the suggestion, I cannot conceive a nobler or more appropriate crown for the great work achieved in this field by France, than for her to find a place in the Exhibition with which she proposes to celebrate the completion of the century for an international collection of the memorials of reawakened Egypt which she has done so much to disentomb.

But though the undertaking was thus set on foot, the chief difficulty of execution still remained to be solved. For it is clear that a task involving the transposition and rearrangement of so immense a number of entries, each comprising so many details, could never be successfully carried out unless every step from start to finish were definitely arranged before its execution were taken in hand. And inasmuch as it was at my motion in the first instance that the Government of His Highness had assumed the task, I drew up a plan whereby every step, both of registration and classification, with regard to any papyrus in the catalogue whatever, should be directly and permanently traceable; and submitted it to Lord Cromer, who, after several months of consideration, informed me that it had been approved by M. De Morgan.

Although a few of the Powers have not yet replied, the general response to Boutros Pasha's appeal has been very encouraging; and M. De Morgan, who has shown the greatest interest in the matter, must, I think, be not a little gratified by the result. Our own Government, it is pleasant to know, was the earliest in the field, the authorities of the British Museum having given immediate assurance of their cordial co-operation, and having since forwarded several lists of papyri. Nor have the other Powers been remiss, but have manifested every desire to be of assistance. Germany has promised compliance and applied for supplementary instruction. Austria-Hungary has promised to send lists of the papyri, etc., in the Imperial and Royal House. Denmark has sent a list of the papyri in the Museum at Copenhagen, with an account by Professor Valdemar Schmidt. The United States have sent word that the Smithsonian Institute has promised to occupy itself with the construction of a catalogue. Holland announces

that it refers for the moment to the catalogue and works published by the Museum of Leyden. Portugal states that it has made researches but without result. Sweden and Norway have sent a catalogue of the papyri in the private collection of M. Lieblein.

Upon hearing from Lord Cromer to this effect, it appeared to me that the time had arrived when the Egyptian Government might commence to digest the mass of material thus acquired, and that they might tabulate the necessary particulars first for registration, and secondly for historical classification. Taking, however, into consideration the complexity and extent of the task, it appeared to me highly desirable that a specimen or miniature catalogue containing the particulars of say 300 papyri in all, belonging to different countries, should be constructed before entering upon the general field. And I ventured therefore to propose that a certain number, say fifty papyri, should be selected from each list supplied by the above-mentioned countries; and that such papyri should be registered and catalogued in historical order upon the lines laid down by myself and approved by M. De Morgan. By this means it seems to me that we shall test in a very simple manner the practicability and sufficiency of the proposed Catalogue, and shall obtain a model which will serve to prevent much confusion and defect when dealing with the whole body of papyri at large.

To this suggestion Lord Cromer replied that while personally approving the proposed step, the matter is so large and important that he would be much strengthened in recommending it if I could gain for it the favourable opinion of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. And I wrote therefore to the two Vice-Chancellors begging them to bring the matter to the notice of the Universities, and to solicit their opinion upon the point. In reply the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford informs me that he has brought the matter before the Hebdomadal Council, and that they recommend the course which I have suggested; while the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge tells me that he has referred the matter to the Library Syndicate, and that they have passed a Resolution in its support. I have written therefore in this sense to Lord Cromer; and have further ventured to suggest, in the event of the proposal being carried out, that, taking into consideration the wide importance attaching to the documents and the number of States which have already evinced their interest in the work, copies of the Specimen Catalogue when complete should be submitted to the principal Universities, whether at home or abroad, for their judgment and approval.

It is difficult to estimate the influence which the opening up of these records may exert upon our conceptions with regard to the development of antique society; and there seems little exaggeration in the expression used by his Excellency, that the catalogue when completed will be a genuine contribution to science. As might be expected, the topics discussed—for a large number of papyri have already been examined—range over a very wide field, including not merely the doctrines of ancient religion, but history, philosophy, the practice of medicine, with which that of magic is curiously mixed up, and other miscellaneous matters, from which we obtain many valuable sidelights on the customs of antiquity. Thus M. Maspero has been enabled to picture for us the whole course of a strike of stone-

masons at Thebes in the time of the Pharaohs. Or again in a very late papyrus belonging to the Roman Period we have the form of curse denounced by an Egyptian mother against her son who had become a Christian. The mere acquisition of correct, or comparatively correct, ideas about the life of any great nation before the Christian Era, is in itself a gain of first-rate importance. For, even supposing that we have arrived, chiefly through the genius of M. Coulanges, at forming some just conception of social life among the classic nations, the history of those states occupies but a brief and late period in the records of the antique world. And their religious doctrines and rites (more particularly in the case of Rome) betray a foreign origin, while their system is marked, not by that extreme conservatism, which, as Professor Wiedeman has truly remarked, is the chief characteristic of the Egyptian mind, but by capacity for assimilation. The records of Egypt, on the contrary, date back at least as far beyond the traditional origin of the classic communities as those communities are removed from our own day, and in the annals of that country all is self-originated, self-centred, self-enduring.

But there is another and yet more interesting aspect in which this primæval civilization may be regarded, namely, as the source from which no slight amount of light may be thrown upon the social economy of those later nations which we have been accustomed to call antique. That the land of Egypt, centrally situated as it is, and possessing peculiar facilities for communication with the civilized communities of the whole world of antiquity, whether Eastern or Western, should have deeply coloured, if it did not absolutely originate, the creeds and rites, the laws and customs, of later communities, would seem a natural and almost irresistible proposition, were it not for the commonly received but ill-supported theory that the Egyptians came into their country from the north. And no sooner do we accept the tradition maintained of old by the Egyptians themselves and confirmed by the latest researches and discoveries of such authorities as Maspero and Petrie, that the original home of the race was in the land of Poont, far away towards the Equatorial regions of the Nile, than not Egypt alone but the whole chaos of archaic history becomes clear and simple; and a single thread of migration runs through the vast labyrinth. Thus the Babylonian tradition concerning the introduction of civilization into that country by Oannes, half man half fish, who taught on the shore by day and retired into the sea at night, would exactly correspond with an emigrant from Egypt continuing the line of original migration Northwards, by sailing to the head of the Persian Gulf, and retiring to his ship each night. In the same way the wanderings of the Bak tribe, a name which itself in the hieroglyphic signifies the land of Egypt, from the Eastern borders of Babylonia across the mountains of Tartary, as the late Professor Delacouperie has shown, to introduce the elements of religion and science into China would be only a further instance of the continuation of the same line of Northward movement. And agreeably with this we find that in the numerous instances pointed out by the Professor, of resemblances between the Chinese characters and those of ancient Babylonia, a still greater resemblance is found in either case to the characters of Egypt.

Nowhere indeed is the intimate connection between the civilization of the ancient world in general and that of the primæval country more strikingly brought out than in regard to that potent factor among civilizing influences, the Alphabet. Thus, as I showed some years ago before the Royal Literary Society, if we compare the ancient form of the Hebrew, Phœnician, and the Greek Alphabets, with the Hieratic Alphabet of Egypt, which was in existence for at least two thousand years before any known example of the former, we shall find that nearly all the characters in each of those later alphabets are to be found in the latter, though the sound conveyed is not the same,—a circumstance which accounts for the failure of De Rougé to establish the connection which he sought. And even the principle which would account for that variation may, I think, be traced in a great number of instances. To the same origin may be referred the greater part of the Arabic symbols, many of which moreover retain the sound originally attached to the character. Advancing further to the East we find that the earlier part of the Sanskrit alphabet or “letters of the gods” contain numerous examples of a similar nature. And even in distant China, whose records though boasting a far higher antiquity than either the Phœnician or the Indian do not pretend to vie with the Egyptian, we have already seen that many of the characters point back to that primæval country; from which source also, as I have pointed out elsewhere, may be derived some light upon certain anomalies in the ancient kalendar of China. A relation of the same kind to the hieroglyphic appears to be evinced in the grammar of certain languages of antiquity; but it is impossible here to enter even upon an illustration. And a similar remark may be applied in some degree to the religions of the ancient world, and especially to those religious books of the East which the well-known series of translations has thrown open to every English reader, when compared with the Egyptian doctrine of the Uncreated Light secretly born from the womb of the Holy Mother. But however this may be, and at whatever conclusion we may ultimately arrive with regard to the influence of Egypt upon later nations, there can be no question of the unique importance attaching to these widely scattered documents. And while I cannot but be deeply gratified at having been the means in any degree of setting on foot so valuable an undertaking, I would hope its effect may be to advance those researches, for which the formation of a Catalogue is a mere preliminary; so that these ancient records having been thoroughly studied, materials may at last be collected for constructing a genuine science of early Institutions and the development of human organization.

QUARTERLY REPORT ON SEMITIC STUDIES AND ORIENTALISM.

BY PROF. DR. EDWARD MONTET.

GENERALITIES—ASSYRIAN—SYRIAC.

PART XIV. of the "Dictionnaire de la Bible," published under the direction of Abbé Vigouroux,* has recently been issued. We draw attention to the articles on *Elohim*, *enamel*, *embalming*, *incense*, *slaves*, etc., as also to a fine phototype plate representing a page of the Codex Ephraemi.

The Assyrian-English-German dictionary by Muss-Arnolt will shortly be completed. We have before us part VII., which is the last but one of the work.† Notwithstanding its reduced proportions, this publication is an interesting contribution to Semitic studies.

The "Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale,"‡ by Clermont-Ganneau, is now finished. Parts xxiv., xxv. and xxvi. of vol. ii., which have recently appeared, really conclude the work. Among others will be found an important *mémoire* upon the Phœnician words שַׁת (*shath*, year) and שָׁנָה (*shanoth*, years). The author attempts to show that *shath* is always singular, and consequently is never, as has been generally admitted, a contraction of *shanôth*.

The second volume of the history of religion in olden times down to Alexander the Great (German translation), by Tiele,§ has appeared. It treats of the religion of the Iranic peoples. The author believes that the most ancient fragments of the most recent part of the Avesta, and moreover under a different form from the edition we possess, go back to the year 800 B.C. As to the Gâthas, they *must* be two centuries older, although posterior to the origin and first developments of the Mazdian religion.

We have to point out also, amongst the general class of works, an interesting publication by Kerber, in the "Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft" (vol. ii., 1898), on the Syriac fragments of Hexapla of Origen, extracts from Bar-Hebraeus (*Syrohexaplarische Fragmente zu den beiden Samuelisbüchern aus Bar-Hebraeus gesammelt*).

Finally, in connection with Syriac studies, we may mention a work by Moritz upon Syriac inscriptions collected in 1885 in Syria and Mesopotamia.|| The author complains of the havoc committed in these countries, and energetically entreats interested governments to save the epigraphical monuments still existing.

* Paris, Letouzey et Ané, 1898.

† "Assyrisch-englisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch," Berlin. Reuther and Reichard, 1898.

‡ Paris, E. Leroux, 1898.

§ "Geschichte der Religion im Altertum bis auf Alexander den Grossen," vol. ii., part i. Gotha, Perthes, 1898.

|| "Mittheilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen an der Universität zu Berlin," Berlin and Stuttgart, W. Spemann, 1898.

HEBREW—OLD TESTAMENT—HISTORY OF ISRAEL.

Among the commentaries upon the Old Testament, a special mention must be made of Duhm's work on the Book of Job.* The learned professor shows that there existed a Job, at first, in prose, of which the prologue and epilogue had been used as a framework of discourses in verse of a more recent composition. This Job in prose must have been written before the reign of Josiah, and it is to this old book Ezekiel (xiv. 14) alludes. The poem of Job—that is to say that which might be called the second edition (in verse) of the primitive work in prose—must have been composed, with the exception of a few recent additions (discourses of Elihu, etc.), in the first half of the fifth century.

The remarkable work by Schürer on the history of the Jewish people at the time of Jesus Christ is about to appear in a third edition. It has received so many additions that, instead of consisting of two volumes, as in the preceding edition, there will be three. Volumes II. and III. of this new edition have been published;† vol. i. will appear later. Schürer's authoritative work is and will remain one of the greatest monuments of theological science in the sixteenth century.

A new history of Israel, this time in French, has just been published by Piepenbring.‡ It is a good popularisation of a scientific work dealing at the same time with the political, literary and religious history of Israel from its beginning down to Antiochus Epiphany.

"Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft" has published as a supplement (*Beiheft*) an interesting study by Von Gall on the ancient places of Israelitic worship.§ The author reviews all the ancient sanctuaries mentioned in the Old Testament. Some are the objects of genuine monographs, extremely well made, as for example Elim, one of the stations of the desert, during the exit from Egypt.

W. Lueken has written a study of comparative religion concerning a particular point—the Jewish and Oriental Christian traditions on the Archangel Michael.|| The book is full of documents and comparisons of doctrines and legends of Jewish and Christian origin, which are very curious.

We draw the attention of our readers to two valuable articles by Abbé Loisy concerning the religious history of Israel. The first appeared in the *Journal Asiatique* (July-August, 1898), and is titled "Le Monstre Rahab et l'Histoire Biblique de la Création." Recalling to mind the works on this subject by Gunkel (*Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit*, 1895), Karppe and Halévy (*Journal Asiatique*, 1897), the author affirms the identity of the Jewish Rahab and of the Babylonian Tiamat,

* "Das Buch Hiob." Freiburg i. B., Mohr, 1897.

† "Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi," 3rd edition. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1898.

‡ "Histoire du Peuple d'Israel." Paris, Grassart, 1898.

§ "Altisraelitische Kultstätten." Giessen, Ricker, 1898.

|| "Michael, eine Darstellung und Vergleichung der jüd. und der morgenl. christl. Tradition von Erzengel Michael." Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1898.

and he endeavours to elucidate the obscure problem of their historical and literary relation. The second article appeared in the *Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses* (September-October, 1898),* and deals with the expected advent of the Messiah after the manner of Renan. The author endeavours to establish the evolution of the Messianic idea in Israel as follows: If the Messianic reign of the first Isaiah (viiith century) appears to be summed up in the person of the Messiah-King, that of Ezekiel (vth century) consists in the liturgical organization of the community. That of the second Isaiah (vith century), on the contrary, consists in the happiness and the opulent prosperity of the worshippers of Jahweh returned to their country. For the writer of the book of Daniel (iind century) the Messianic reign is the sudden manifestation of the Divine power, and the permanent triumph of the righteous who perished during the great persecution of Antiochus Epiphany, and of those who went through it scatheless. Under the Asmonean princes, the expectation of the Messiah-King again takes consistency, and asserts itself with the greatest energy, when the reviving national monarchy succumbs and makes way for the odious royalty of Herod. To sum up, the Messianic expectation has always reflected the general state, aspirations, perils, and interests of each epoch.

We would take this opportunity of pointing out the highly scientific character of the Review in which the article of the Abbé Loisy appeared.

The French translation of the "Ritual of Judaism," by J. de Pavly and M. A. Neviasky, advances rapidly. We have before us the third volume,† which deals with the subject of the portions of meat, fat, blood, etc., that are received by the priests.

ARABIC—ISLAMISM.

Muhammad and the history of the origins of his religious reforms have been the subject of several interesting works, among which we may mention that of O. Pautz on the doctrine of revelation in the Kuran.‡ This book, very full of documents and written in a very impartial spirit, renders full homage to the person and work of Muhammad. The reforms of the Arabian prophet, says the author in his conclusions, have nobly served the cause of civilization in Arabia, and wherever they penetrated amongst the heathens they have deepened the knowledge of God; they have revived the religious life and the duties thereby entailed; they have elevated the moral standing of these peoples by causing to disappear a good many social wrongs and abuses, and by proclaiming the principles of a moral code which, though not, indeed, perfect, yet holds up a high standard of morality. Islam, according to the author, is a great and noble religion, which has yet to perfect and reform itself in order to attain the high destiny that awaits it.

It is worth calling attention to the fact of a popular history of Muhammad

* Paris, 74, Boulevard Saint-Germain.

† Orleans, Michau et C^{ie}, 1898.

‡ "Muhammeds Lehre von der Offenbarung quellenmässig untersucht." Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1898.

and the origins of Islam having appeared in Hebrew,* of which the author is C. Bernfeld. The publisher has made the mistake of adorning the work, which in other respects is interesting, with an altogether fantastic portrait of Muhammad: the Arabian prophet is not even represented with Semitic features!

The learned Arabic scholar, R. Basset, is following up his Oriental publications, which are always full of interest, with unabated zeal. We have to mention two of his works. The most important is, "Le Tableau de Cèbès," being the Arabic version of a well-known Greek moral treatise, translated by Ibn Miskaueih (A.D. 1029). The Greek original appears to be the work of a Stoic of the latter part of the first century of the Christian era. Professor Basset has published the Arabic text with his French translation, which is accompanied by an introduction and numerous notes.† We strongly recommend this valuable work. The other work of Basset relates to an Arab legend of Spain: "La Maison fermée de Tolède."‡

In the "Mélanges Weil" has also appeared a study in Greek philosophy by H. Derenbourg. It is entitled "Les Traducteurs arabes d'Auteurs grecs et l'Auteur musulman des Aphorismes des Philosophes."§ Derenbourg, whose work is an excellent and judicious criticism, shows that the author of the collection of "Aphorismes" was a Musalman, named Muhammad ibn 'Ali ibn Ibráhim ibn Ahmad Al-Ansári, and not, as was supposed, a Christian, the physician Abu Zaid Honain ibn Ishák. It is a manuscript of the Escorial, written in the Magrebi of Spain during the year A.H. 594, which has preserved the only trace of the real author. A facsimile of the first page of the manuscript accompanies Derenbourg's work.

In the "Mittheilungen" of the Seminary of Oriental languages of Berlin, which we have mentioned above, is contained an interesting collection of Moroccan proverbs (text and translation annotated) published by A. Fischer.|| In this context we would draw attention to the following maxim, which exhibits a broad and unconventional spirit (not often to be met with in Morocco!), and which we reproduce in the Moroccan orthography.

الْعَدَمَةُ عَلَى تَوْلَادِ فَضْلٍ مِنَ الْحَجِّ وَالْجِهَادِ

"To care for your children is better than pilgrimage and holy war."

In conclusion, we may mention a thesis written by a candidate for the Doctor's degree of the University of Berne, which merits attention—the Kitáb Bagdád of Abul Faql Ahmad ibn Ábi Táhir Taifúr (A.H. 204-280). This dissertation¶ of H. Keller includes the Arabic text, its German translation and a preface.

* מחמד תולדות חייו וראשית לדת דת האיטלם. Warsaw, Tuschijah, 1898.

† Algiers, Fontana, 1898.

‡ Oran, Fouque, 1898.

§ Paris, Fontemoing, 1898.

|| Berlin and Stuttgart, Spemann, 1898.

¶ Leipzig, Drugulin, 1898.

"GOD HAS NO OPPOSITE."

(A SERMONETTE FROM THE PERSIAN.)

BY PROFESSOR LAWRENCE MILLS, D.D., OXFORD.

(THIS little piece was suggested to me by a fresh consideration of the doctrines of rational dualism as set forth in the Pahlavi literature. See the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for July, 1897, pp. 103-110.)

We have all of us noticed that ideas develop not so much in circles as in spirals. We find the old thoughts coming again, as history unfolds itself, but they always reappear increased. This is perhaps as apparent as anywhere in the familiar argument by which we try to harmonise for ourselves the blemishes which we observe everywhere in our personal destiny and in that of others—that is to say, in the argument by which we accept these miseries on the score of antithesis.

Hegel, and Fichte before him, used this procedure more fully than others among moderns ; but devout clergy whose religion no longer includes a cold acquiescence in human sufferings have often urged upon their hearers as a consolation the necessity of evil to the development of the good, of sorrow to the possibility of happiness.

But obvious as such thoughts may be, and vital as they certainly seem to all men in their attempts to smooth out the wrinkles on the face of things, we little expect to find them expressed to a nicety at such a time as the thirteenth century, and in such a place as Persia ; and it is equally startling to find their very detail worked out in a style which reminds us of the much-praised but sometimes belittled philosopher of Stuttgart * The Masnavi is the Bible of the Persians, and *Jelal u-din Rumi* is their apostle of the Prophet. No book of antiquity, or modern days, is, all things considered, more remarkable than his production. Wit, humour, poetry and rhyme express its sometimes postprandial pantheism, and these are offset with conceptions which are often sublime and a piety which was doubtless sincere. When he comes to philosophical hair-splittings in the style of the mystics he is very acute, although, as he himself confesses, he often sews himself up. On this matter of antithesis he is especially rich, and he gives us in many a place "Hegelianism before Hegel." Here is a bit of his doctrine of limit.

"Errors occur not without some truth. If there were no truth, how could error exist. Truth is the Night of Power hidden among other nights in order to try the spirit of every night. Not every night is that Night of Power, nor yet is everyone devoid of power. If there were no bad goods in the world every fool might be a buyer, for the hard act of judging would be easy ; and if there were no faults one man could judge

* Hegel was born in Stuttgart, where a marble slab bearing his name is set in the facing of the house which claims to be his birthplace.

as well as another. If all were faulty, where would be the skill? If all wood were common, where would be the aloes? He who accepts everything is silly, and he who says that all is false is a knave. . . .

"Discern form from substance, O son, as lion from desert. When thou seest the waves of speech, know that there is an ocean beneath them. Every moment the world and we are renewed. Life is like a stream renewed and ever renewed (compare Hegel's 'All is flow' as borrowed from Heraclitus). It wears the appearance of continuity of form; the seeming continuity arises from the very swiftness of the motion (p. 3); a spark whirled round has the appearance of a circle."*

He expresses the principle of this on page 31, book i. Here he begins and slowly works his way up to a statement so great as nearly to silence us with respect for him. Commencing with the usual instance of light and colour, he goes on; "and so with mental colours. At night there is no light, and so no colour, but by this we know what light is, by darkness. Opposite shows up opposite as the white man the negro; the opposite of light shows us what is light; hence colours are known by their opposites. *God created pain and grief to show happiness through its opposite.*† Hidden things are manifested thus." And then come the (to a scholastic) magnificent words, "*God has no opposite; He remains hidden.*" God has no opposite; He is all-inclusive. We are all of us a little pantheistic nowadays, although on Hegel's law we may still claim to be orthodox; and who that thinks has not been, or will not be, mentally moved by the conception of that inclusiveness. "He has no opposite."

All that exists exists through His will, and has ever so existed. The discoveries of physical science, the still more far-reaching ones of the purely mental, only define his indefinableness, and make Him greater.

He has no opposite, not in the realms of the moral idea, not in the close distinctions of the exact or the *quasi* exact sciences, not in the physical astrologies of the skies, not in the range of mathematics surpassing imagination, nor in the scope of æsthetics which are as minute as they are expanded. The telescope and the microscope are as powerless as is that world of sensibility which is called into life by music or colour. Nowhere is He arrested or described. Sorrow cannot say to Him "Here is your limit," nor Pain declare "Me you never made." Even the old conceptions of future torment which exist clear and distinct as ideas at least, almost as dreadful as the supposed realities; nothing, nothing is without Him, or so opposed as to define Him; He has no opposite. But He has detail, if we might so express ourselves. He has no opposite, but His actual deeds and attributes are made up of them. He can never be defined, but we can approach a definition. Every opposite that we discover brings Him nearer. All the thronging results of science may be said to be the discoveries of opposites. Every opposite found out by brain, or eye, or glass, or measure; every tool with its adapted edge, every structure in the subdivisions of mechanics is an added item in the rearing

* Compare book ii., page 165. I have not followed Mr. Wynfield's most impressive and effective translation literally, but I have preferred it to others.

† The italics are mine.

of that great edifice made up of differences out of which we approach Him. Without the recognition of difference no consciousness can exist, and the pang of misery is the actual condition to the thrill of rapture as to the calm of peace.

Surely it is a consoling as well as an impressive thought to the thinker, that notwithstanding the conflicts in his mental processes he does not think in vain that to the universe of opposites on which he works there is a unity towards which he may indefinitely progress.* "God has no opposite"; it gives consolation to the *doer*, for he knows that every result which he brings forth, sharply facing either menace or defect, brings him nearer to the Harmonised. Well may we accept the "pulse of thought," "the grasp," "the split," "the combination."† What consolation above all it gives the *sufferer*! How oppositions tend to make us doubt! How can there be a purpose in so much treason, such equivocation, and such oppression as we see? How is it possible that there can be anything so mean? Surely here, if anywhere, is God's Opposite. Yet even here the old Persian's word holds good. God means the *caitiff* as the only being that can define the good. That good is somewhere, and all of us will be sure some day to find it out. God has no opposite, and He perhaps never makes us more acutely sensitive to His Goodness than when He permits us to recoil and with disgust from what seems the contradictory opposite of all that He can be.

* Compare Kant's "Ad Indefinitum."

† Compare Hegel's "Begriff, urtheil, schluss."

TWENTY-SECOND REVIEW ON THE
 "SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST" SERIES.

CLARENDON PRESS, OXFORD.

VOL. XLVII.—PAHLAVI TEXTS—PART V. MARVELS OF
 ZOROASTRIANISM. TRANSLATED BY E. W. WEST.

By JOHN BEAMES, B.C.S. (RET.).

UNDER this appropriate title the learned translator has collected three texts, all dealing with the same subject, the legendary history of Zoroaster and his religion. The first and longest is the seventh book of the *Dinkard*, which is supposed to embody the greater part of the lost *Spend Nask*; the second is a brief account of the same subject from the fifth book of the *Dinkard*; and the third consists of extracts from the selections of *Zâdsparam*, a compilation made by a priest of Sirkân near Karmân, about A.D. 900, from religious texts then extant.

In a religion so peculiarly circumstanced as the Mazdayasna, which lost nearly all its original scriptures some twenty-three centuries ago, and has been living ever since on the few fragments which have escaped destruction, eked out by legends of various kinds, and by traditions as to what were the contents of the lost portions, it is necessary to make the most of every scrap of ancient writing, and even of writings which though not themselves ancient appear to embody the contents of the primitive documents. Hence the value attached by Iranian scholars to texts which under any other circumstances would be passed by as unimportant.

The chief point of interest in the present collection lies not so much in the marvellous legends about Zoroaster and his religion, which can scarcely be said to have a practical value to any but specialists, as in the materials which they supply for harmonizing Zoroastrian chronology with that of European history, and in the light which they throw on the rise and development of this peculiar creed. It may however be interesting to give a brief summary of the legends before considering the wider question of the chronology.

In the first of the three texts the subject is introduced by an account of the ancient royal line of Iran from the primeval man *Gâyomard*, through the renowned *Peshdadian* and *Kayânian* dynasties down to *Kai Vishtâsp*, the monarch contemporary with Zoroaster, or *Zaratûst* as the name is written in Pahlavi. Bald and prosaic is the narrative, and judging from the translation very obscure and involved the style. Though the names in their Pahlavi form are obviously the same as those recorded by the *vates sacer* *Firdausi* in the brilliant and fascinating pages of the *Shâhnâma*, there is none of the mystic charm and glamour which the poet throws around *Jamshid* and *Faridun*, *Afrasyâb* and *Rustam*, though he probably drew his information from these old Pahlavi compilations. It would be a curious and interesting task to trace the legends of the *Shâhnâma* to their Zoroastrian sources, and to endeavour to discover how much or how little of real history lies hid under those old world fables.

Having brought down the "glorious destiny" of preserving the true religion to Kai Vishtâsp, the narrative goes on to relate how "the splendour, glory, and marvellousness of the prophet of the Mazda-worshipping religion, the best of creations, whose guardian spirit is revered, Zarâtûst of the Spitâmas" was passed on by the creator Aûharmazd through the material substance of Zarâtûst to the "light which is endless." Thence it fled on through sun and moon and stars to the fire in the house of Zoish, thence to the wife of his son who brought forth the mother of Zarâtûst. Alarmed at the radiance which emanated from her the priests, who play the part of wicked persecutors throughout, compel her father to send her away to a distant village, where she meets Porushâspo, is married to him, and in due course gives birth to Zarâtûst. Immediately on being born the wondrous child laughs aloud to the great dismay of the seven midwives present. The priests attempt to destroy him, but in vain. At the age of thirty he meets the angel Vohûmano, who takes him away to a conference with Aûharmazd which apparently lasted two years, though no account of what passed at it is given. On his return to earth he begins to preach his religion, but is rejected by the priests, assailed and tempted by demons, and thrown into prison. Miraculously preserved from starvation, he is aided by celestial beings, and finally succeeds in converting King Vishtâsp, and establishing the true religion. All this is told in the most rambling, confused style. In fact it is told not in direct language, but as a reference to something which has been told elsewhere (in the Spend Nask probably); so that the indirect style adds to the obscurity of the text. The marvels which occurred during the remaining thirty-five years of the life of Zarâtûst are next recorded, and the narrative proceeds with the circumstances affecting the religion till the end of the world, when as a climax "Aharman and the fiend are annihilated, the renovation for the future existence occurs, and the whole of the good creation is provided with purity and perfect splendour."

The shorter account contained in the fifth book of the Dînkard is interesting chiefly from its allusion to the Jews and their sacred book, which if its title is correctly read as Gyêmarâ, is apparently the Gemara or second part of the Talmud. In a method of writing, however, like that of Pahlavi, in which one character has half a dozen values, the reading of this name cannot be more than guessed at. As we are told that the word read as Gyêmarâ may also be read Simrâ, it is permissible to feel a little doubtful as to the identification, which if correct would certainly be interesting. But that the Jews are alluded to seems certain from the statement that King Loharâsp, father of Vishtâsp, was an ally of Nebuchadnezzar (Bûkht Nasîh, he is called) at the siege of Jerusalem. The name "Beta Makdis of Arum" is probably meant for Baitu'l Mukaddas of Rum, "the holy house of Syria," the well-known name of Jerusalem in Arabic.

The extracts from the Selections of Zâd-sparam contain matter similar to the two preceding texts, and in some particulars supply details wanting in them. Such, for instance, are the various intrigues and machinations of the Karaps or priests of the old religion against Zarâtûst, and the

account of what passed at the conference with Aûharmazd and the archangels. They also exhibit some of the fundamental precepts of the Zoroastrian religion; the five "dispositions" or characteristic qualities of priests, and the ten admonitions.

More interesting perhaps to the general reader is the chronological question raised by certain dates supplied in these selections. The translator in his learned and elaborate introduction gives reasons for believing that these Pahlavi versions of Avesta texts were completed in the fourth century of our era, and revised in the sixth. They "mention no persons or events of a later date than the reign of Kai Khusrô I. (A.D. 531-578)." It may therefore from internal evidence be safely concluded that "these Pahlavi versions present a fairly complete view of the Zoroastrian legends current in Sassanian times." And another and in many ways important inference follows from a consideration of these and similar texts, namely, that the ancient writers regard Zoroaster not as the founder of a totally new religion, but as the reformer of an existing one. His object was not to set aside all the forms of worship prevalent in his time, but to retain, amplify, and elevate the worship of good spirits, while strictly prohibiting the propitiation of evil ones.

This view of Zoroaster's mission is important in many ways. It explains the marvellous vitality and persistence of his religion, and its power of resistance to foreign influences. It also explains the ease with which in later times the Mazda worship was received on the shores of India, and settled down amicably among the various Hindu sects. It was accepted in fact, though this was due partly to misrepresentation, as only one of the many forms of Hinduism. It is important also with regard to the question of chronology. The Zoroastrian epoch is the "coming of the religion," an event which is fixed at the conference with Aûharmazd in the 30th year of the Teacher's life; which is also the thirtieth year of the reign of King Vishtâsp. This event is brought into connexion with European chronology by the statement in Bundahish xxxiv. 7, 8, that it occurred 272 years before the death of Alexander in B.C. 323, *i.e.*, B.C. 595. Zâd-spâram, however, states, xxiii. 12, that the religion lasted till the three hundredth year, after which "the religion is disturbed and the monarchy is contested." If as is probable this refers to the invasion of Persia by Alexander, which cannot be placed later than B.C. 331, it would give B.C. 631 as the date of the founding of the religion, and the death of Alexander in B.C. 323 would have been in the 308th year instead of in the 273rd. There is thus a discrepancy of thirty-five years between the two accounts, which is probably due to intentional errors introduced into the Bundahish for the purpose of making the leading events fall in with its traditional system of dividing the history of the world into twelve millennia. The postponement of the end of the tenth millennium brings history into accord with the successive developments of the religion.

Eliminating these discrepancies we get the date B.C. 660-583 as that of the lifetime of Zarâtûst. Vishtâsp (Pers. Gushtasp) is usually identified with Hystaspes, the father of Darius, but his fabulously long reign of 120 years must be taken to represent a dynasty, probably that of which a list

is given on the Behistun inscription. The received date of the elevation of Darius, son of Hystaspes, to the throne of the Empire is B.C. 521, though of course he may have ruled, as a sub-king over the tribe of Persians, before this. Even so, however, it is difficult to bring him quite into touch with Vishtâsp. At any rate, it may be admitted that stated in general terms the traditional date of Zarâtûst falls somewhere in the sixth or seventh century before Christ. The modern Parsi calendar supports this view. By an ingenious calculation the origin of this method of reckoning time is fixed at A.D. 505 in the reign of this same Darius. Owing to the omission of our one day in every fourth or leap-year the Parsi New Year's Day retreats one day in every four years, so that it retreats all round the year in 1,460 years. The calculation is explained very lucidly at p. xliii of the introduction.

This traditional date of Zarâtûst is somewhat of a stumbling-block to the comparative philologist, because the language of the Avesta is undoubtedly a sister-tongue to Sanskrit, and not merely to classical Sanskrit, but to the archaic language of the Rig Veda. It would hardly be possible to place the earlier Gâtha hymns of the Yasna so late as Darius Hystaspis. Of course it is not necessary to suppose that Zarathustra the Spitâma wrote the whole or even any part of the Avesta collection himself. But if not written by him they must have been written by his disciples, as he himself is mentioned by name. It is true that the Gâthas have the appearance of scattered verses put together from different sources, and it would be quite legitimate to suppose that we have in them remains of ancient hymns which from containing sentiments in accordance with the principles of Zoroaster's reformed religion were retained and re-cast, still preserving their archaic language: It must be remembered that we know nothing definite or reliable about the history of Persia before the rise of the Achæmenid dynasty.

But if the traditional date of Zarâtûst is too late, that of the Greeks and Romans which places him in B.C. 6000 or thereabouts is much too early. It is plausibly accounted for by supposing it to be based on the Pahlavi tradition by which the classical Zoroaster of the seventh millennium B.C. is identified with "the traditional Zarâtûst in his ante-natal spiritual state after he had ceased to be a mere Fravashi or primary idea, and had become an intelligent, moving, and personal existence, but still a spirit." That a conception of this sort, so purely esoteric and peculiar, should have penetrated to Europe is not surprising. The religion of the Magi certainly had some effect upon Gnosticism, as the similarity of the Fravashis to the Gnostic Æons, among many other points, shows. The solution of this question, however, lies beyond the scope of the present work.

There are many other points in this interesting work which well deserve careful study, though it may be feared that the uncouth and crabbed style of the original has not been sufficiently toned down in the translation to make it pleasant reading to any but a specialist in this department of research.

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* Published at the Clarendon Press, Oxford.

“LITERATURE AND SCIENCE.”*

BY SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN, K.C.S.I.

WHEN, a few days ago, I was requested to deliver before this Club an inaugural address on “Literary Method and Study,” I appreciated the compliment but realized that it was impossible for me, at so short a notice and with my time largely engaged, to do justice to the subject. On the other hand, I felt that I might, with perfect confidence, trust to your generosity and indulgence ; while the temptation of speaking at Luton on a subject other than politics was difficult to resist. It is moreover a great pleasure to be able in any way, however feebly, to help the aims and objects of a Literary Club which has been founded for the encouragement of Study by several of your most distinguished citizens, whose names are familiar to the outside world for their literary labours and their scientific achievements in chemistry, botany, anatomy, and medical jurisprudence. You will, therefore, I trust, excuse my want of adequate preparation and forgive me if I do not adhere too closely to the methodical line which the title of this lecture implies, but rather make such general and preliminary observations on literature and science as seem appropriate to the young men and young women of a manufacturing town like Luton, and reserve to another occasion any detailed suggestions on literary method. For it is more particularly to the inhabitants of towns, whose occupations are often monotonous and distasteful, where life appears sordid, dull and filled with the perpetual struggle for necessities and comfort, that an inherited or acquired love of books is the greatest refreshment and delight. Those who live altogether in the country are surrounded everywhere, from sunrise to sunset, by the beauties of nature which in themselves are an education to the sympathetic mind and heart ; but the town dweller has an especial need to counteract the narrowing influence of his daily occupations by as close a contact as he can maintain with the ideal world, revealed to him in books, wherein, however monotonous his toil, he may enjoy the society and think the thoughts and breathe the inspiration of the great masters of literature, whose wisdom and experience form the best part of the world’s wealth. This need of intellectual change and refreshment grows every day more urgent for town dwellers, because the tendency of modern industrial life is to the infinite division of labour owing to the multiplication of machinery and the economic saving that results from such division. The result is that the artisan tends to become more and more of an automaton, infinitely repeating some monotonous and mechanical process, and he often is no more than the living guardian of a machine which seems, in its iron frame, to contain the soul and intellect which produces the industrial result,

* This admirable paper formed the Inaugural address at the opening of the first session of the Literary Club of Luton, Bedfordshire, England. The writer is so well known, especially in India, that the paper will be read with much interest by all our readers.—Ed.

while the part of the man is only to oil and tend the monster and feed the fire which gives it life. In the old days of Greece and Rome, or even 300 years ago in England, the position of the artisan, or rather the craftsman, was very different. Whether a worker in the precious metals, in iron, in ivory, or a weaver of fabrics of the loom, his work and art were so self-contained that he could put into them his own thought and sentiment, unenslaved by the commercialism which to-day destroys artistic work. Adam Smith had not then preached the economical doctrine of the division of labour; and, from start to finish, the workman could see his creation grow beautiful beneath his hand. All the processes which made perfect the completed work were his alone; and so far his lot was happier than that of the man who has to-day to perform a thousand times some trivial operation, from which all artistic thought or endeavour is necessarily absent. It is useless for us to complain of the age in which we live and of the conditions under which we labour. We cannot recall the days when the craftsman, if he were a man of natural intelligence, was almost necessarily an artist; but in days when knowledge and enlightenment are no longer the possession of privileged classes, but, like light and air, are blessings common to all, we can take care to guard our souls from the deadening influence of our daily work, by the constant stimulus of noble, healthy and inspiring books. This Club has been founded to encourage the youth of Luton to try and live this higher life, to breathe this purer air, as necessary to the health and growth of their souls as oxygen is to their bodies. No nobler aim could any Association put before itself: to attempt to stem the torrent of materialism which threatens to drown the best part of our boasted civilization, to minister, as Shakespeare has expressed it, to a mind diseased, and

"Cleanse the stuff'd bosom of that perilous stuff
Which weighs upon the heart."

In urging you to make friends and counsellors of great and noble books, I would say that wealth and material prosperity are not the first things in the world, either for nations or individuals. Often they are a hindrance and a curse. You remember the young man in the Gospel who had a secret yearning for the higher life but who, hearing that it implied renunciation of wealth, went sadly away, for he had great possessions. What has, through so many generations, glorified the little slave-owning Republic of Athens, far more than its artistic genius or its colonizing power? It is its literature, still unsurpassed in dramatic beauty, in philosophical wisdom and in boldness of physical research. Two thousand years hence, what will our descendants hold to be the chief glory of the reign of the Great Elizabeth, when the story of the Spanish Armada shall have grown as dim as the wars of Troy? Then, as to-day, the twin stars, Shakespeare and Bacon, will shine as the crowning glory of the Elizabethan heaven. During the reign of Queen Victoria, which will ever remain a memorable epoch in the history of humanity, the pre-eminence of literature has diminished, owing to the wonderful development of natural or physical science; and beside the names of writers like Herbert Spencer and Tennyson will shine with

equal light those of Darwin, Huxley, Kelvin, and Lister. To this point I will return. But the conclusion is in no way affected that the true greatness and distinction of a nation is not primarily due to its warriors or even its statesmen, who hurry across the world's stage in storm and tumult, but to its writers, either in literature or in science, who have reduced the sum of human misery and added to human happiness, and whose accumulated wisdom is the best inheritance of all succeeding generations. If you desire to see an example of the deadening influence of the exclusive struggle for wealth and material prosperity on the higher life, you have only to look across the Atlantic to the United States of America, which are rich and powerful, with an enormous territory and a rapidly increasing population. But the Americans have not yet realized that these advantages do not of themselves confer national distinction, and that, if their country were to sink beneath the ocean to-morrow, it would in history fill a very small place compared with the tiny Republic of Athens. In America, at any rate among the men, education is so directed to commercial ends, and in its higher branches the scientific is placed so much above the literary method that the imagination is starved and the power of original literary production seems decaying, which is an unnatural and dangerous symptom in a young and vigorous community. The old race of writers of distinction, such as Longfellow, Bryant, Holmes and Washington Irving, have died out, and the Americans who are most prominent in cultivated European opinion in art or literature, like Sargent, Henry James, or Marion Crawford, live habitually out of America and draw their inspiration from England, France, and Italy. I was reading the other day a little book called "*Kokoro*," written by an American, full of grace and delicate fancy, but the author had lived for many years as a Professor in a University in Japan. The greatest of English critics of this generation, Matthew Arnold, in the last essay he ever wrote, discussed an opinion, which I had expressed in a book on "*The Great American Republic*," that there was no country in which a cultivated human being could live with less pleasure than in America; and when I heard him deliver his first lecture in New York, I realized the truth of this remark and how deep a gulf in sympathy lay between the critic and his audience. But I will not dwell on the shortcomings of our American cousins when we have so many of our own. We have, in a different degree, the same defects, which are, indeed, inseparable from the conditions of our modern life. I believe that the degeneration of the pure literary habit and instinct is but a passing phase of American life, and that Americans will, with the larger national ambition which is now possessing them, take in time a worthy place in the Temple of Parnassus. That such may be the case I earnestly desire, for I am one of those who look to the cordial and sympathetic union of England and America as the most important factor of the history of the twentieth century. That this feeling is shared by the best and most distinguished Americans, I am convinced, and in evidence I would read to you one graceful sentence from a letter to me of the American Ambassador, written a few days before he left England to take up the responsible position of Secretary of State: "I sometimes feel that the only advantage we Yankees

possess over you is that we have two native countries while you have but one."

Before offering any positive suggestions as to choice of books and methods of study, it is necessary to clear the ground by considering in a little more detail the conditions under which the education of young men of the present day must be carried on. By education I do not mean that grounding in essentials, the mere foundations of elementary knowledge which the boy or the girl acquires at school. The higher education begins where the school ends: the superstructure which the human soul has to inhabit for life must be built, each for himself, when he has realized what are his tastes, his tendencies, and the direction in which his life work lies. No doubt school-training counts for much, if it be intelligent and worthy, for the best part of the education of a child is the healthy development of inherited tendencies. But the true and complete training of mind and character by the choice of books and study begins where the elementary education ends, and the intellectual life or death of the human soul is in the power of each one of us, to choose the right way or the wrong way to its triumph or undoing.

The difficulty of choice would at first sight appear to be enhanced by the enormous development of literature and the multiplication of books, and, on the other hand, by the stress and competition of modern life which compels the student, who has little money and less leisure, to occupy himself in great part with technical and scientific training, without which he is unfitted to take his part in the fierce struggle for existence. But these conditions, if they be less superficially regarded, lessen and do not increase the difficulty of choice. Literature is a vast tropical garden in which grow magnificent forest-trees and delicious fruits and fragrant flowers, together with rank undergrowth and poisonous berries and blossoms. In this garden, too, there stands, as in the Garden of Eden, the tree of knowledge of good and evil. But the inherited experience of mankind, and the divine instinct which teaches us to hate the evil and choose the good, has left us little doubt as to what fruits we may eat with safety and what poison flowers we should avoid. The judgment of the world has been justly and finally passed on the works of all those great writers, poets, dramatists, novelists, historians, and philosophers who have entered into the Temple of Fame, and the multiplication of ephemeral literature, trivial, worthless, or demoralizing, will in no way weaken the authority of the decision.

The pressing necessity of keeping abreast with the swift development of natural and physical science, which is the dominant note of the age in which we live, while it does not make it more difficult to choose the best literature, certainly leaves less time in which to study and digest it. The inherited sum of human knowledge is now so vast that the most industrious of us can only pick up a few fragments from the table of learning which is so lavishly spread; and this renders it the more important for us to choose wisely and not to waste our scanty leisure on literature which is idle, harmful or, at the best, like the apples of the Dead Sea, dust and ashes in our mouth. Nor can we afford to neglect, even for the delight and mental refreshment of the highest literature, the results of science which, day by

day, is unfolding to us the secrets of the earth and heaven and transforming by its discoveries the conditions of our social and physical life. No man in these days can be a complete individual, properly furnished for his life-work, who is not to some extent acquainted with the last results of inquiry in sociology, psychology and natural science; while it will be impossible for England to maintain her commercial supremacy and feed the crowded millions of her cities unless, by general technical training in schools and colleges, the strongest stimulus be given to applied science in our manufactures, and to original scientific research. I should like to direct your attention to an address recently given to the students at the Mason College, Birmingham, by the famous geologist, Sir Archibald Geikie, who chose for his subject "Science in Education," and another by Sir Norman Lockyer to the students of the Royal College of Science, London. But the first of these is particularly worthy of attention, as it sums up, with singular ability and impartiality, the relative claims of science and literature, and the necessity of allowing both a fair place in a modern education. It is because I realize so strongly the necessity for scientific training, and am looking so anxiously for the advent of a Chancellor of the Exchequer of foresight and genius, who will grant £20,000,000 sterling for technical education, to be repaid a hundredfold in commercial prosperity, that I sympathize but little with those teachers who seem too exclusively to advocate the claims of literature as a sufficient intellectual equipment. These men, distinguished though they may be as writers or critics, live mostly apart from the world of action, and in their devotion to their literary pursuits seem to ignore the modern necessity of giving a large part of our leisure to scientific study, equally important and engrossing. Mr. Frederic Harrison has written a delightful essay, full of wise suggestion, on the "Choice of Books," which I heartily commend to you. But it seems to me to be written, as it were, *in vacuo*, unimpressed by the atmosphere which envelops our modern life. He urges with admirable force the charms and advantages of literary study, and the style and merit of the acknowledged masters in literature; but he expects too much of the modern student, whom he would confine to authors, already become classics, and treats with a scarcely veiled contempt the greater part of contemporary literature. For him the doors of the Temple of Parnassus have been finally closed or only open jealously and at rare intervals to admit a new-comer among the Immortals. Of course, so accomplished a writer does not ignore science, but he does not give to its study the importance which, in modern times, is its due, for, after all, human life is short, knowledge is limitless, and our many inventions have not improved the quality of the human brain, or increased, if indeed they have not diminished, our powers of imagination, reflection, and memory. We cannot know or learn everything, and the keynote of our educational policy of to-day is to examine our intellectual baggage and equipment and decide what we must abandon and what it is necessary to retain. The innate conservatism of the English character has maintained in our larger schools and Universities a mediæval scholasticism, which, with all its advantages in the formation of style and character, is still exaggerated and

injurious. I would not speak slightly of Greek and Latin, in learning which some ten years of my life were passed; nor would I venture to do so in the presence of such distinguished classics as your President, and Mr. Neville Swarder; but I would insist that the system of teaching them is ridiculously inadequate, when it is considered that the superficial knowledge of the classics acquired by the average schoolboy is gained at the expense of modern languages and literature, without which the student, when he enters real working life, is hopelessly at sea. We are handicapped in every market in the world by the linguistic deficiencies of Englishmen. I can speak from experience, for I am connected with several great undertakings, banks, and railways in foreign countries, and the difficulty of finding competent, well-educated English clerks, with a thorough colloquial knowledge of French and German, is almost insuperable. It is beside the question to assert that English is the world language of the future; and that the necessity for other nations to learn English is far greater than for us to learn the languages of the Continent. This argument is unworthy of a vigorous-minded people, who must not trust to the chances of the future, but must now gird up its loins for the race unless it is content to be left behind.

It is perhaps because I rather belong to the world of action than to the study that your club has done me the honour to invite me to address you. I have, it is true, written a good many books, which I advise you to neither buy nor read, as your time may be better employed; but my sympathies are with the world of work, in which my life has been passed. This is why I have specially pressed upon you, who live in a manufacturing town, the claims of scientific culture as equal to those of literary study. But I do not deny that by limiting your study of literature you must lose a part of the chief delight of life, which it ever refreshes, strengthens, and renews; the outside conscience, as it were, responsive to that within us, moulding our conduct in accordance with the inspired teaching of the great souls who are the guides and masters for humanity for all time.

But the modern man, and especially the modern Englishman, has other claims than those of science, which divert him from literary study. Mr. Frederic Harrison would probably not deign to consider newspapers as worthy of the regard of any human being. But the Englishman is not as he was at the beginning of the century, with no appreciable share of political power, which was entirely usurped by the privileged classes. Now, political power has been entrusted to the people, and each one of us should realize that with power comes responsibility, and that to the honesty and patriotism of us all, individually and collectively, the welfare of this great Empire has been confided. With the consciousness of this glorious responsibility has come to most Englishmen an appreciation of British interests throughout the world which almost seems a new sense. We are no longer satisfied with the local interests of Luton, of Bedfordshire, or of the British Isles. Our interests are as wide as our Empire, and all parts of the world—China, the Cape, Canada, Australia, India, Siam, and the Soudan—are as familiar in our mouths as household words. To be a complete citizen, you must consequently be instructed in home

and foreign politics—that is to say, you must give up a share of your reading leisure to newspapers. But, further than this, you must avoid, as much as possible, the whirlpool of party strife, which is profitless and demoralizing to us all, and must, as responsible citizens, try to understand the principles on which all political questions finally rest. For all things in earth and heaven, from the movements of the stars to your own inherited tendencies, are governed by law; and as the deeper and far more important part of politics cannot be gained from party newspapers, you must find leisure to read works like Herbert Spencer's "Principles of Sociology" and Lecky's "Liberty and Democracy," if you aspire to perform your political functions intelligently and worthily.

I have not time to discuss so large a question as the choice of books in the several departments of literature. But, as I have before said, the great masters have taken their place for ever, and there is little difficulty in knowing what to read. The more important point is to know what to avoid. And in this your own trained sense must chiefly guide you. I firmly believe that the general tendency of human nature is towards the good, and that it is struggling perpetually to a higher level. Encourage this tendency, and earnestly endeavour to choose, for you have a choice, the good rather than the evil. Nourish your soul on elevating, noble and inspiring literature, and leave that which starves and degrades the soul to those who prefer, like the man with the muck rake in Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," to occupy themselves with the literature of the dust-bin and the gutter.

One word of friendly counsel I would give to young men and young women also, for in the training for the higher life there is no reason to consider the difference of sex, and this is to make close and intimate friends of at least two books, one prose and the other poetry; one to strengthen and enlighten the conduct and character, the other to satisfy the craving of the soul for emotion and imagination. I well remember when I was a young man about 18 I formed two such friendships, which have lasted my life. The prose book was "Sartor Resartus," by Carlyle. I recall the day, many years ago, when in the gallery of the Union at Cambridge I came across this memorable and epoch-making book, and sat down to read it through a winter afternoon. It seemed to me an inspiration, a revelation, a new gospel. More than any book in the world it influenced my life, and is still my constant companion, and, although Carlyle has not the same fascination for this generation as for the last, I could recommend to young people no work nobler in its aims or more filled with a righteous contempt for what is mean and unworthy. My second life friend was and is Tennyson, whose poems in those days I knew by heart, and even though he does not compare in creative and original genius with some of the great classics, yet for a uniformly high level of thought and expression, for human sympathy and for melodious beauty he is a delightful and incomparable companion of whom one can never weary. Those are indeed unhappy who can find no joy and companionship in books. The love of books is an ever new delight, which grows more keen with advancing age when more active pleasures fail us. The

great and inspiring thoughts of noble men, enshrined in books, are our constant solace in sickness and misfortune ; they people our solitude with the creations of fancy, they are friends who never grow cold or change. And more than this, they strengthen and arm us for the battle of life, they encourage us, by example and precept, in patriotism, self-sacrifice and devotion to humanity, and they furnish us with the courage to face a future which their philosophy has deprived of its terrors. A life so inspired is a life of duty, of sacrifice for others, and its end is well described by Tennyson :

" To pass, when Life its light withdraws,
Not void of righteous self-applause,
Nor in a merely selfish cause—

" In some good cause, not in mine own
To perish, wept for, honour'd, known,
And like a warrior overthrown ;

" Whose eyes are dim with glorious tears
When, soiled with noble dust, he hears
His country's war-song thrill his ears.

" Then dying of a mortal stroke
What time the foeman's line is broke
And all the war is roll'd in smoke."

THE BLACK STONE.

BY THE REV. J. D. BATE, M.R.A.S.

It is quite evident that Stone-worship, so common among the ancients, formed an important ingredient in the system of religion observed by those who constructed the Ka'ba,—the chief Temple of the Islámic faith in the city of Makka. What may have been the exact origin of this peculiar form of worship—to wit, that of shapeless lumps of stone—is a point which now baffles investigation. It is found impossible, through want of trustworthy data, to decide whether the homage paid in ancient times to stones in all parts of Arabia, arose in the first instance from the worship of the celebrated “Black Stone” of the Ka'ba, or whether, on the contrary, the worship of this piece of stone was not rather the outcome of the national tendency to Stone-worship in general. Anyhow, there are several pieces of stone in and around the Temple of Makka that for a variety of reasons are objects of profound veneration throughout the Muḥammadan world,—the said world consisting of about a hundred and eighty millions of our contemporaries. We purpose in the present sketch to limit our attention to one only of these stones.

In the ninth year of the Hajira, immediately after the siege and capture of Makka by the host of the Faithful who swarmed down with the Prophet from Madina for the purpose, Muḥammad issued a proclamation that none but faithful adherents of his should in future gain access to the Ka'ba and to the rites and ceremonies connected with it. In keeping with this law, all the roads leading into the city are to this day carefully guarded at distances varying from three to ten miles in the different directions from the city, so that it is impossible that anyone not an adherent of one or other of the four so-called “orthodox” divisions of the Sunni sect should be able, except by some cleverly-planned evasion of Islámic law, to gain access to the sacred spot. We find, in consequence, that the accounts given by different writers as to the nature and appearance of the Black Stone, exhibit some considerable variations; for orthodox Musalmáns cannot be prevailed upon to give a straightforward description of it, and mere adventurers, like the several European Hájis (Burckhardt, Burton, and the others) could only gratify their intelligent curiosity by stealthy investigations. Detection in the act of pursuing such investigation would have cost the travellers their lives, in pursuance (as Muḥammadans suppose) of the law of the Prophet. Your faithful Musalmán cannot understand that any other motive than worship should lead anyone to visit Makka.

As instances of the differences of statement to which we have alluded we may mention what our intelligent travellers have recorded concerning the *nature* of the Black Stone. One of them tells us that it is undoubtedly a large *aërolite*,—an opinion which scarcely harmonizes with its reputed quality of floating in water, since *aërolites* usually contain a large percentage of heavy metallic matter, such as iron pyrites. Another traveller reports that it looks like a piece of lava, containing small extraneous particles of

some white-and-yellowish substance. Still another of these authorities affirms that it is a fragment of volcanic basalt, sprinkled throughout its surface with small, pointed, coloured crystals, and varied with felspar upon a dark ground, like coal,—excepting one of its protuberances, which happens to be a little reddish. Others, again, claiming an equal title to exact knowledge, give it as their opinion that is nothing else than an ordinary piece of stone from one of the quarries in which the Makkan territory abounds. These last-mentioned travellers, however, appear to overlook the circumstance that this opinion of theirs does not take due cognisance of that property of the Stone to which we have just alluded, and also the circumstance that the only kind of stone yielded by the Makkan quarries is a sort of gray granite. In the midst of so much conflict of opinion, seriously placed on record by competent and impartial observers who have themselves seen and examined the relic, it obviously is very difficult for anyone to determine, with any degree of comfortable certainty, what the nature of the Black Stone really is. As to the orthodox Muḥammadan, he views the whole question as one of the sacred mysteries of the Faith; and to all inquiry he has but one answer,—Become a Musalmán, and then you will know.

But not so difficult is it to form an idea as to its size and present appearance; though even here, too, the authorities differ among themselves. In form it is an irregular oval,—the inequality of its two longer sides imparting to it a somewhat semicircular appearance. It measures about six inches in height and eight in breadth,—the diameter on its lower and wider side being eight inches and a half. The surface is protuberant and somewhat knobby or undulating, and has the appearance of being composed of a number of smaller stones of different sizes and shapes, securely fitted together with cement, and perfectly smooth. Its appearance is as though the original piece of stone had been broken to pieces by a violent blow and then repaired. And, as a matter of fact, this appears to be the true explanation of this irregularity of the surface; for it is recorded by the Arabian historians of the Ka'ba that in the year 413 of the Hajira an emissary of a certain Egyptian Khalifa, known as “the mad Khalifa Hákim,” shattered it to pieces by a stroke of a club; and they relate that after this event, the pieces, and even the dust also, were carefully restored, and the fragments cemented together. In order, however, to render the smashing theory at all credible, we are compelled to fall back upon conjecture:—either this rude onslaught was effected during some war of the Egyptians with the authorities at Makka, or the conditions of access to the Temple must have been much less stringent in the earlier centuries of the Muslim period than they are now. But be that as it may, the protuberances mentioned are twelve or fifteen in number, and are such as to impart to the surface of the Stone a muscular or pebbly appearance. Near the middle there is a hollow which reaches to about as much as two inches below the outer edge of the Stone, and is of a kind to suggest to the visitor the surmise that one of the protuberances may have been removed. The colour of the surface of the relic is at the present time a deep reddish brown,—or, as some have described it, a metallic black: and notwith-

standing the polished appearance imparted to it by the constant touching of unnumbered myriads of devotees, it yet bears on its undulating surface what appear to be evident marks of volcanic origin. These muscular protuberances, however, are attributed by the Muslim authorities to the incessant osculations and rubbings of the Faithful. The smoothness may, perhaps, be attributable to this cause, but the obviously fractured and pebbly appearance is not accounted for in this way. Thus much for the Stone itself; the next point is its position in the Temple.

The measures that have evidently been adopted from time to time by successive "Guardians of the Ka'ba" with the view of preserving the sacred relic appear to throw some light on a question for which we are not as yet prepared,—the question of its history. It is surrounded on all sides by a border composed of a substance that looks like a close cement of pitch and gravel, of a colour similar to that of the Stone itself, though not quite the same. This border is two or three inches in breadth, and, rising at the outer edge a little above the surface of the Stone, it gradually slopes down in the direction of the middle of it. The only explanation of the presence of this border which commends itself to our judgment is that it is nothing more nor less than the outer surface of that body of cement in which the broken pieces were embedded on the occurrence of the disaster above alluded to, and the slight elevation in its position in relation to the surface of the Stone would seem to have been intended to support and keep together the obviously broken pieces. The relic has, however, the appearance of being set in a massive silver arch,—the border just described being encircled by a silver band or zone about a foot broad, but broader below than above and on the two remaining sides: it has also a considerable swelling below, as though there were a portion of the Stone hidden under it. The lower part of this band is studded with silver nails. From the outer edge of this ring also, there is a gradual sloping down towards the middle of the surface of the Stone,—the centre of the Stone having thus the appearance of being sunk about two inches below the metal by which it is surrounded. Burton says that the parts which are here described as of silver, were, on the occasion of his visit, either of gold or gilded. These surroundings serve the purpose of protection as well as of ornament.

On comparing the borders of the Stone which are covered and secured by the silver with the uncovered part which is exposed to the touches of the Faithful, the exposed part is found to have lost nearly twelve lines of its thickness. From this it has been inferred by some travellers that if the Stone was smooth and even at the time it was placed there by Muḥammad on the occasion of the reconstruction of the Ka'ba by the Beni Qoreysh in 605 A.D. it has lost nearly one-twelfth of an inch during each succeeding century. The conjecture is, however, open to considerable criticism on different accounts: in the first place, it is almost certain that the surface of the Stone was not level at the time referred to; for it had been rubbed by unnumbered millions of the hands of the ancient Arabian worshippers during an unknown number of centuries prior to the Prophet's time: in the next place, as recently as four hundred years subsequently to his time, it was, according to the local historians, broken to atoms and pieced together,

as already mentioned. The remarkable irregularity of the surface would seem to be best explained by supposing a deficiency of artistic skill and care in placing the fragments into the cement after the disaster alluded to.

The entire relic, as thus described, is carefully built into the wall on the outside of the Ka'ba in the north-easterly angle: Burton, however, says that it is in the south-easterly angle: but the Arab historians of the place expressly state that it is fixed in that angle of the Temple which points in the direction of Bosra. The difficulty in this detail arises from the curious irregularity in the shape of the edifice and in the direction of its angles. From the position it thus occupies it appears that the term "Corner-Stone," sometimes applied to it, can only be applied in a modified (or perhaps, rather, in a theological) sense; for it is not part of the actual building in the sense in which a corner-stone always is. It is so inserted as to fall along the line of the sharp angle of the edifice, and it projects a little therefrom, so as to admit of being the more readily touched and kissed. The travellers differ in their statements as to the distance of the Stone from the ground: one of them (Ali Bey, that is Badia the Spanish Hájí) states that it is at a height of forty-two inches from the level; but Burton, who tells us that he carefully examined the relic on repeated visits to it, says that he measured, and found that its height from the ground was four feet nine inches: other travellers state the matter roughly and say that its position is at a height of four or five feet. The object of its being thus elevated from the level is that it might easily be seen and touched by persons of whatever stature. We now pass on to the question of its history.

Notwithstanding the unique sacredness which attaches to the Stone, the great reverence which all Muslims have ever entertained for it, the jealous care with which it has been guarded, and the unbroken continuity of the practice of daily visiting it, this curious relic of unknown antiquity and origin has experienced some considerable vicissitudes of fortune,—a circumstance which, remarkably enough, is attributable rather to the iconoclastic principle of the Faith itself than to any other single cause. These vicissitudes commenced long prior to the time of Muḥammad, as the following tradition will show. On the occasion of the expulsion of Muzád, the last king of the Jurhumite dynasty in A.D. 206, the Beni Irjád proceeded to contend with the other descendants of Ma'dd for the custodianship of the Ka'ba, now vacated by the Jurhumites,—the custody of that building being the symbol of religious and political ascendancy through the length and breadth of Arabia, even in those remote days. They were, however, defeated in this struggle for supremacy, and afterwards emigrated towards Iraq, where they took part in establishing the kingdom of Hira. But resolved, as they quitted the territory of Makka, to do all the mischief they could, they removed the Black Stone from its place in the wall of the Ka'ba, and secreted it in the earth. The only person who witnessed where it was buried was a female of the Khuza'a tribe. On this point turns the question as to which tribe of the descendants of Ma'dd should hold supremacy in Makka. The only condition on which the members of the girl's tribe would consent to the restoration of the Stone to its place in the Ka'ba-wall, was that the Sacred Edifice itself should be made over to

their charge,—in other words, that their own tribe should now succeed to the sovereignty. With the question of the historical verity of the tradition we are not now concerned. In all probability it owes its origin to an attempt on the part of the vanquished Makkans to account for the ascendancy of the Khuzáites in order to palliate the ignominy of their own subjugation. Our object is rather to point out in this tradition of the vicissitudes of the Black Stone, that the worship carried on at the Ka'ba must have been of ancient standing even at that early date.

Allusion has already been made to the violence which at the time of the Fatimide Khalifas reduced the Stone to fragments. About a century prior to the infliction of that disaster, this sacred object underwent but little better treatment at the hands of the Karmathians. These people were a sect of very degenerate and heterodox Muḥammadans, whose dogmas were subversive of the fundamental points of the Islámic faith. They resided far away in the country of Hajar, in eastern Arabia, and the sect sprang into existence in the last quarter of the third century of the Hajira. In course of time they increased in numbers and attained great influence, and in A.H. 317 they succeeded in dethroning the reigning Khalifas, and captured the city of Makka in the reign of their leader Záhar. Under this man these iconoclasts, whose opinions and manners very much resembled those of the Wahhábis of our own time, committed great outrages and disorders in the city of Makka, and among other atrocious acts they proceeded to offer indignities even to the Ka'ba itself. Now, among the desecrations of which they were guilty, was that of the removing of the Black Stone from its place, and the transference of it to their own distant country. To cut a long story short, these heretics obliged the Khalifas to pay them tribute in order that permission might be granted for the continued performance of the rites of the annual pilgrimage; and so complete was their conquest of the orthodox party, and so profound their aversion to what they conceived to be the superstitions of the system carried on at Makka, that during the long period of two-and-twenty years they could not be prevailed upon to restore it to the dismayed authorities at Makka, though these latter made them the handsome offer of five thousand pieces of gold for it,—a fact which shows the high value set by the Faithful upon this little piece of stone. At length, however, when the Karmathians saw that by retaining the Stone they were unable to extinguish the devotion paid to it or to prevent the influx of pilgrims to the Holy City, they of their own accord gave back this precious relic in the year 339 of the Hajira. It is related that in doing so they sought to banter the devotees at Makka by telling them that it was not the same piece of stone! This, however, the happy recipients were able to disprove by putting to the test its property of floating in water,—a corroboration, as would seem, of the somewhat unromantic theory of its being nothing else than a piece of some kind of lava, or perhaps a mere piece of pumice. Of such a theory as regards its nature and origin incidental evidence is afforded by traditions of the existence of volcanoes in the Hijáz at a very early period.

The Faithful, however, are not so easily put out of conceit of the chief Corner-stone of their Faith as to admit that it had so commonplace an

origin. They hold this piece of stone in the highest veneration, and apply to it the magniloquent epithet of "the Right Hand of God on the Earth." They contend that it is one of the precious gems of the celestial Paradise; and many are the legends of wonder current among them by way of accounting for its presence in this lower world. Some of their theologians are of opinion that it fell down on the earth from the seventh or highest heaven on the occasion of the expulsion thence of our first parents,—their Paradise having been, according to the Muslim theology, not a terrestrial region at all. Others of them maintain that on the occasion of the first building of the Ka'ba by Adam and the angels, this gem was brought down from heaven by Gabriel and handed by him to Adam to be built into the wall of the Ka'ba in the very place where it now is, for the purpose of indicating to him and to all the Faithful to all time the exact starting-point from which it was the will of the Great Supreme that the sevenfold circumambulation of the Ka'ba should be commenced. They are further of opinion that it remained on earth till the time of the Deluge, when, too holy a thing to be a sharer of the common fate which had resulted to all things from human sinfulness, it was taken up to heaven. There is, however, one legend which states that at the time of the visitation referred to the Stone was removed from its place in the wall of the Ka'ba by the hand of the angel just named, and concealed by him in a deep cavern in one of the mountains which abound in the Makkan territory. The manner of its reintroduction into the world after the Deluge is also differently related. The tradition which states that it was taken back to heaven before that cataclysm, states that it was then brought down again by the same celestial messenger, and entrusted by him to Abraham when the great patriarch needed it in rebuilding the Ka'ba after the original model. Another of their traditions states that on the occasion on which Abraham and Ishmael rebuilt the Ka'ba, Ishmael went about in search of a piece of stone that might suitably serve as a corner-stone from which circumambulation of the Sacred Edifice might be commenced; and that in the course of his wanderings he met the angel Gabriel, who presented to him this Stone, which he had just brought down from heaven, to be used for the purpose. Such are the accounts soberly accepted as historical by the different schools of theologians.

Such are some specimens of the history of this interesting object that are seriously placed on record in the writings of Muḥammadan theologians and credited by the followers of the Prophet. Equally far removed from questionable history is the account they give of its nature and colour. They maintain that at first the Black Stone was of a refulgent bright colour, and "whiter than milk,"—a form of expression which in the lips of an inhabitant of the burning Desert must be taken as equivalent to our expression "whiter than snow." It is in allusion to that period of its history that the Stone is also called "the Dazzling Stone." When, after its concealment for some centuries in the cleft of the mountain, it was handed to Ishmael by Gabriel, it was still, as of old, of a refulgent bright colour. It was at that time so bright, indeed, as to "dazzle the eyes at a distance of four days' journey." When we come to inquire as to the

means by which the Stone so completely became bereft of its ancient brilliancy, we are met as usual by very different replies. Some of the Muslim authorities attribute its change of colour to the circumstance of its having repeatedly suffered from fire both before the introduction of the Islāmic religion and subsequently to it. Others, however, are not content with so prosaic an account of the matter. They explain that it owes its present colour to the mere accident of its having been, at some period which the divines are not able to specify, touched by some woman while in a state of ceremonial impurity. But whether the touch which thus deprived the stone of its refulgence deprived it also of its sanctity and virtue, the divines do not explain; nor do they tell us how it happened that a change so great could have taken place in a Stone with a refulgence almost rivalling the brightness of the sun and visited day and night by numbers of ardent devotees, and yet have so escaped notice at the time that no record was made of the fact by the guardians of the Temple.

Yet a third theory by which most of the Muḥammadan authorities account for the strange phenomenon is this, that the change of colour is owing to the transference to the Stone, in some mysterious way which transcends all human comprehension, of the sins of all those members of the human race who have ever embraced the Muslim creed. It wept so long and so profusely on account of the sins of the Faithful that it became at length opaque, and at last absolutely black. If such be indeed the occasion of its blackness (the absorption of ceremonial defilement and moral guilt) it surely is strange to the lay mind that the Stone should be regarded as still retaining any character for sacredness and virtue. If it be indeed the fact that the immeasurable and countless offences of so many millions of human beings are absorbed into so small a compass as six inches by eight, the least that reason would infer should rather be that the Stone had become *unholy* in no ordinary degree. But when we recall the circumstance that the followers of the Prophet not only kiss the Stone with the utmost fervour, but also touch and caress it with their hands, and press and rub their faces and breasts against it, it seems not unreasonable to suppose that whatever its original colour may have been, its present appearance may be owing to this process to which for so many ages it has been daily subjected. Such an explanation derives support from the remarkable circumstance that it is the surface only that is of this dark colour, while the inside still remains whitish,—the colour of the inside of pumice-stone. It is doubtful, however, whether any Muḥammadan allows sufficient play to his mental powers, or indulges sufficiently in broad and healthy religious speculation, to hit upon such a common-sense view of the matter, or even to attach due weight to such an earthborn consideration in the event of its being presented to his understanding. But notwithstanding the circumstance that the continued moral impurity attaching to the Stone is thus admitted and maintained by the leaders of the Faith, yet men are found who every year throng in many scores of thousands from all parts of the world to which Muḥammad's influence extends,—at untold inconvenience, discomfort, expense, and hazard to health and life, to perform reverential and lowly homage to it; and they confess to finding it

one of the chief joys of their life on earth, and base on the performance of the visit their belief in their spiritual security and their hope of acceptance hereafter. They maintain that at the Day of Judgment (which they call "Qiyámat") this piece of Stone will be endowed with sight and speech ; and this for the express purpose of then bearing witness in favour of all those who may at any period from the beginning of the world have touched it in sincere faith.

In conclusion it may be observed that the sacred Temple at Makka, notwithstanding all its venerable attractions, has no object which in the estimation of the pious Muslim equals in sanctity the Black Stone. The most fervent and prevalent desire in the heart of every faithful follower of the Prophet is that he may be permitted to enjoy the divine privilege of visiting the Ka'ba once at least in his lifetime and of making his admission into Paradise secure by transferring to this Heaven-appointed absorbent the moral turpitude of all the transgressions of heart and life.

SHAN AND SIAM

(A FEW MORE EXPLANATIONS).

BY MAJOR G. E. GERINI.

MR. PARKER's courteous criticism of my article on this subject in the April number of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review** calls for some further explanations on my part of some points which, no doubt, either on account of the limited space at my disposal or of my imperfect style of exposition, may not appear quite clear to the reader as they do to me. For the present I propose to touch only upon such points as can be disposed of briefly, reserving to some future occasion the lengthy discussion of the others.

As regards the identity of P'hyā Tāk (Sin) with: (1) *Kam En-tek* of 1768-9; (2) *P'i-ya Sin* of 1771-2; and (3) *Chêng Chao* of 1772, there can be no further doubt since, as I said, P'hyā Tāk reigned from 1767 to 1782, and Mr. Parker may rest assured as to the correctness of my statement. I venture to suggest that the epithet *Kam En-tek* may refer somewhat generally to Kamp'hêng P'het, the name of the province to which P'hyā Tāk had been appointed Governor shortly before 1767; a name which is pronounced *Kaman paik* in Burmese,† and appears in slightly dissimilar forms in books of travel of the last two centuries. From the fact of such an appointment, P'hyā Tāk would thenceforth be designated by the vulgar "P'hyā Kamp'hêng P'het," although the official title was *P'hyā Vajira-prākāra*.‡

With respect to the term *Châu P'hyā Chakkri*, it is not a personal name but a title, belonging to the Minister of the Northern Division of the kingdom (according to the old system). P'hyā Tāk's protector who bore that title has, of course, nothing to do with the later C. P. Chakkri, who became P'hyā Tāk's successor and the founder of the present reigning dynasty.§ Between the two C. P. Chakkris referred to several magnates bearing the same title intervened. P'hyā Tāk's protector died long before the fall of Ayuthia; while P'hyā Tāk's successor was his junior by three years (having been born on the 20th March, 1737), and having proved a valiant leader received the rank and title of C. P. Chakkri from P'hyā Tāk himself in 1771 on the demise of a former occupant of that office, Khêk by name.

The name 鄭 (*Chêng*) said by the Chinese annalists to belong to P'hyā Tāk's family, as well as the epithet *Chêng Chao* employed to designate P'hyā Tāk himself, I am well-nigh at a loss to account for. The only

* See page 401.

† ဘမန်ပိုင် in the PoU Daung inscr. of 1774, line 41.

‡ *Vajira-prākāra nagara* is the official name of Kamp'hêng P'het, and its equivalent in Sanskrit-Pāli form.

§ Appearing as C. P. *Catatarī* through a misprint in my former paper.

possible explanation of these terms that I can offer so far is, that they may bear some relation to the temple which P'hyā Tāk had repaired and embellished close by his royal residence on the western bank of the river at Bāngkōk, and consecrated as the Royal Temple under the new name of Wat Chēng. *Chēng* means "clear," "light," "dawn," (apparently the same word as the Chinese 敷), and it is said that the temple was so named because its old spire hove clearly in sight just at daybreak, while P'hyā Tāk was travelling down river to Bangkok to establish his new royal residence in its immediate neighbourhood.

Almost equally unintelligible prove to me the designations of Chief *Ch'ang* (長) or *Kuo-ch'ang* (國長), king of *Kuo-wang* (國王), as well as the name *Chēng Hua* (奠華) applied by the Chinese Annalists in 1786* to King P. P. Yōt Fā, P'hyā Tāk's successor and the founder of the present dynasty. I can but surmise that *Kuo*, or rather *Kok* as pronounced in Cantonese, may represent in an abridged form the name of Bāng-kōk, therefore *Kuo-wang* or *Kok-wang* would simply mean 'the Bāng-kōk Rājā'; and that *Hua*, in Cantonese *Fa*, may be intended for P. P. Yōt Fā. Though these renderings may seem to a certain extent justifiable, we remain however still in the dark as to the meaning of the term *Ch'ang*. But leaving it for Mr. Parker to find out the solution of these Chinese puzzles, for which he is by far better qualified than myself, I shall proceed to the next point in question.

This regards the identity of the terms Shan and Siām. While I am happy to see Mr. Parker agreeing entirely with me on the question of identity pure and simple, and sincerely express regret at having at the outset misunderstood him upon this important point, I feel somewhat disappointed at his still considering the term Siām (as connected with Śyāma-rāṣṭra) and the existence in ancient times, in Southern Siām, of a region or district of that name, a myth or quasi-myth. I cannot here dilate upon this question, but I trust shortly to bring forward such additional evidence as to satisfy my respected antagonist as to the reality of the geographical, or topographical, identity above alluded to. For the present all I have to remark is, that the said Śyāmarāṣṭra, located by me at the head of the Gulf of Siām, must not be confounded with *Siem-rāb* on the shores of the Kambojan Lake, not far from Angkor Wat. *Siem-rāb* is an expression meaning (in the Khmer language) "the defeated (or conquered) *Siem*" (i.e. Siāinese), and was given to that district in 1259 (or somewhat earlier according to some Chronicles) on account of a Siāinese army (from Sukhothai it is said), which had marched to attack Angkor Thom, the capital at the time of Kamboja, having been routed there by the Khmers. At a quite modern period, the Siāinese, having assumed direct control upon that portion of the old Kambojan Kingdom, probably from dislike towards a name which recorded a reverse suffered by their ancestors, they modified it into *Siem-rāt*, which represents, in fact, as I stated, the Sanskrit term *Śyāma-rāṣṭra*, and means "Siāinese territory." The vulgar, however, and the Khmers themselves, continued to call that district, as of

* See *China Review*, Vol. XII., pp. 97 and 101.

yore, *Siem-rāb*. I merely referred to it in order to corroborate my statement as to the existence of an early Khmer form *Siem* for the name of Siām. Before I leave the *Syāma-rāstra* myth question, I wish to introduce a curious passage from a learned missionary, N. Gervaise, who after having lived in Siām fully four years (from 1681 to 1685), and become thoroughly acquainted with the language, customs, and part of the literature, of the country, still believed the term *Siām* itself a myth, thus fairly entitling himself to be considered by us as Mr. Parker's worthy precursor by over two centuries. Speaking of the capital Ayuthia, the reverend father says in his book*: “. . . Les Etrangers l'appellent Siam, du nom du Royaume auquel même ils l'ont donné, car il est tout à fait inconnu aux naturels du pays, qui ne luy en donnent point d'autre que celui de Meüang-Thây, ou de Meüang-Crong-Thêp Maanacone. . . . Peut-estre que de Sijouthia les Europeans ont fait à leur fantaisie ce mot de Siam. . . .” These lines, written by one who was well qualified to know and who ought to have known, plainly show how too apt is human nature to treat as myths facts and things about whose existence it happens to possess no positive information ready at hand.

Having now disposed of the principal points in Mr. Parker's rejoinder, it would remain for me to add a few observations on several matters touched upon by Prof. St. Andrew St. John, in his letter in the same number of the Review (pp. 423-4). But as most of the questions connected therewith are thrashed out at length in a paper of mine now in the press, I would ask him to kindly wait until the same is out.† I shall then be happy to clear up to the best of my knowledge any point that may yet need illustration.

* *Histoire du Royaume de Siam*, Paris, 1688, pp. 41, 42.

† See the continuation of my “Notes on the Early Geography of Indo-China” in the forthcoming numbers of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain*.

Milan, November 8, 1898.

THE LANDLORD AND POLITICAL TENURES OF GUJARAT AND WESTERN INDIA.—II.

BY B. H. BADEN-POWELL, M.A., C.I.E., F.R.S.E., M.R.A.S.

THERE is really very little exaggeration in the statement that the peculiarities of Gujarāt—both geographical and ethnical—are largely the causes of the special historical development which the superior land-tenures underwent. If the country had been shut off from the Indus-region (to the north) by a continuation of the Vindhyan barrier, it would not have received such a succession of Yādava, Gujar, and *quasi*-Rājput clans and adventurous leaders, nor so many foreign conquerors. Nor could it have become divided into so many rival and warlike states or chiefships. It was, in turn, the number and diversity of these that multiplied the points of resistance to the Moslem arms, so that the Sultāns were never able to absorb the whole (or even the greater part) of the country into their Khālsa or directly administered territory—in which varieties of estate always tend to disappear. On the other hand, if the fertility of the province had been less, and its seaport trade less valuable, the military force of the Moslem Empire would not have been so persistently focussed upon it, as it actually was; and the proportion of estates absorbed or altered in character would have been still smaller. The fact is that the *actual demesne* lands of the Moslem Sultāns were almost confined to the districts around Ahmadābād and to the west coast districts—Broach and Sūrāt, just as those of the Anhilpur kings had been before them; and the effective area of Mahrātha dominion was hardly larger.* Had the political and other circumstances been the same as those which produced or shaped the tenures of Bengal or the North Western Provinces, all Gujarāt might to-day have been a series of “zamindāri,” or landlord estates held by “owners”—proud indeed of ancient lineage and once territorial rank, but reduced to being private landlords. Indeed, it is likely that had a century or two more intervened before the (on the whole) preservative influences of British rule came to be felt, disintegration would have gone yet further; not only would the estates of ruling chiefs have been transformed into subject landlordships under the Empire, but the villages of which they were composed might have become the separate units of property partitioned among the descendant branches of its once ruling houses; each village would have become subdivided into major and minor shares among a group of co-sharers, now on the peasant level as regards wealth and importance, but held closely together in their village body, by pride of caste, and differentiated from cultivating tenants by the tradition of their high descent and former nobility. As it is, the absorbing effect of general conquest was neither complete enough, nor had lasted long enough, to

* It extended only to the old Muhammadan Khālsa, and to such further districts as now constitute the Baroda State or possessions of the Gaikwār.

produce the final stage of transformation—the dismemberment of the “Rāj” into a series of landlord-village-communities. In Gujarāt, it is true, the “talukdārī” (and similar) estates have in many cases (as we shall see) been subdivided: where there are several owners—branches of the same house—each will have no more than a single village (or part of one) as his share of the whole; but the descendants are not numerous enough or ancient enough to have been transformed into a series of co-sharing communities over their tenants, like the “aristocratic” class of (*pattidārī*) villages in the N. W. Provinces. Nor, it may be added (for it is perhaps the most important factor), were the ideas and principles of the older Bombay Revenue administration favourable to the growth or recognition of such joint village communities.*

The consequence of all this is that, while in Bengal and Upper India lapse of time and other circumstances, aided by administrative action, have left us a series of tenures of which the original foundation has almost completely passed into oblivion, in Gujarāt we are still able to examine at leisure the elements out of which modern Indian landlord estates were, and joint-village estates might have been, manufactured. In Gujarāt so many Rājput, Koli, and other estates or principalities remained unabsorbed into the *Khālśa* of the conquering Moslem or Mahrātha, and maintained a perhaps precarious and tributary independence—at any rate, they were outside of the regular crushing of the revenue-farmer’s mill—that a number, though impoverished and reduced, still show traces of their former constitution and original features. This is equally true whether they have become “tālukdārī” estates in British districts or “Political estates” in the immediate neighbourhood.

It remains to justify these observations by describing the actually existing tenures of the present day; and to adduce, from the records of the past, some illustrative accounts of the acquisition of territory by small clan movements or personal adventures. We must describe the Rājput prince’s court and the methods of his estate-management; we must inquire into the effect of creating subordinate estates or “fiefs” of vassal chieftains, as well as of the grants made out of the principal estate for the support of cadet members of the family and for courtiers. Nor must we omit the effect of the forays and the clan feuds and quarrels which were fruitful causes of the breaking up of estates and “removing the neighbour’s landmark,” or the customs of partition which were persisted in, though their tendency to entail loss of rank and influence must have been, even in the earliest days, distinctly perceptible. Lastly we have to take into account

* There are actually existing in one or two Gujarāt districts some real joint-village estates called *narwadārī* and *bhāgdārī* villages: they are in the true *pattidārī* and *bhātāchārā* forms. (See my *Ind. Village Community*, Longmans, 1896, p. 386 ff.) These are not due to the dismemberment of any once ruling chief’s estate, but to certain revenue-farming arrangements, or to combination of privileged families to pay the revenue demand and so secure their village. They however have shown a constant tendency to disappear, and the village bodies to accept a complete division of holdings and a separate responsibility for the revenue, under the influence of the general *raiyyatwārī* system around them; and this is true in spite of some legislative efforts—of the last 30 years or so—to preserve the joint-tenure.

the effect produced on landed interests by the Moslem and Mahrātha revenue-administration, and (not least in the list) the consequences of the principles which actuated the British Government in their land management.*

While we have been able to gather some information from coins and inscriptions about the names or nationality of the early kings who held sway over Gujarāt, these records naturally do not give information about modes of government or the way in which land was held in ancient times. But as soon as we have copper-plate grants—say from the 5th or 6th centuries A.D.—it appears from their terms that princes made grants of “villages” to Brahmans, Jainas, or religious persons, much as they did in later times; the land (as we might expect) was divided into “villages,” and both village and district officials are alluded to. At any rate by that time, monarchical government, and a systematic, if rude, administration, including territorial divisions for Government purposes, had long existed.

More than this we cannot gather; and our next information must be held to reflect the customs of the time of the bards themselves; nor can we doubt that, fanciful as many of their stories of the exploits of heroes are, the incidental allusions to daily life, to military, political, and administrative forms, must have been those of the time, and are in all probability accurate enough. These, however, do not go back beyond the 12th century. It is evident that the arts must have been considerably developed; since by that time the famous city of Valabhipurā had for some centuries lain in ruins, and the city of Anhilpura founded for some three or perhaps four centuries.† But from the allusions that occur, we gather that a great part of the country long remained uninhabited; and Valabhipura, and at first Anhilpura itself, were the centres of somewhat isolated kingdoms. A great tract of jungle (where Jhālāwar now is) separated the peninsula of Sorath or rather the principalities in it, from the growing territory of Anhilpura in the inland districts. Probably the most accessible and best cultivated tracts lay in a ring round the coast; and it is remarkable the Panchāsar and the magnificent fort of Jhanjuwāra,‡ the cities of Dwārka, Junāgarh, Deo-Patan or Somnāth, and Goghā are all on or near the coast and are the centres of a series of small states, that belong, some of them, to the earliest historic period. Kolis and Bhils alone inhabited the interior of Sorath as well as the hills and ravines of the N.E. and N.W. frontier inland.

* The territory spoken of in the sequel includes the districts of Ahmadābād, Kaira Kheda, Bharoch, Surāt and Kānhes, as well as the “Political Agencies” of Kāthiāwar, Mahikānṭhā and Rewākānṭhā. The name “Gujarāt” is now used only geographically, not as representing any political or administrative division. All the British districts are under the Commissioner of the Northern Division of Bombay.

† I can only refer to the *Rāsmāla*, where (p. 191) a picture—no doubt highly coloured and magnified, of the city of Anhilpura in the time of Kūmāra Pāla (1143 A.D.) is given.

‡ There is a description of its massive walls, 50 feet in height, with bastions and splendid gateways—in building which the arch was still unknown, in the *Rāsmāla* (p. 193). Dabhāi, in the Narbada Valley, is a similar ruin: it is described in James Forbes “Oriental Memoirs.” His account of the “Diamond Gate” belonging to this period is graphic.

These separate states, as well as the larger kingdom of Anhilpura, do not at first appear to exhibit that scheme of territorial allotment, which Tod calls "feudal" and has described in his *Rājasthān*. There is no record of any central crown-demesne of the King, as distinct from the surrounding estates of his great vassals—members of the same tribe, and hardly inferior in rank to himself. All the fortified posts of the kingdom of Anhilpur are held by the King's own officers; nor are any portions of the territory spoken of as held on "service-tenure" or as "fiefs" by grants of the King. Such grants (grās) as exist are either for religious objects or for the support of members of the family or court ministers, and are distinctly granted and subject estates. When the Kings go out to conquer their neighbours, it is not to annex their territory, but to get their own suzerainty acknowledged and a tribute promised or paid.* Nothing is more frequently observed, in the history of the Hindu monarchies, than a hegemony; a great suzerain over a host of states, the latter, however, being quite independent as regards their internal administration. We hear, in those days, of the "Mandalik" Rājās or independent and allied princes in groups under some (perhaps distant) suzerain. Inside each state, the chiefs who have the governance of territorial divisions (and the consequent right of collecting the King's share in them) are called "Mandalaswar." The "Samant" (associates), or military commanders were probably remunerated in this way; while other nobles have the titles of "Chatrapati" (lords of the State-Umbrella) and "Naubatpati" (lords of the State-Drum) and so forth, which do not necessarily imply any territorial possession. Of course village (grāma) cultivation has long ago been established; and that, in the form of groups of individual holdings which we now call "rai-yāt-wāri"; and each is under its own headman (called Patkīl).† The King's grain-share is sometimes taken through the "lord" of the estate in which the villages lie; otherwise from the cultivators direct—through "mantri" who may be the district officers, or perhaps the village accountants. The landholders are called "kautambik" = head of the cultivating household; and there are "kārshak," or landless farm-labourers. "A failure of rain," writes K. Forbes,‡ "produces a default in payment of the King's share, and incarceration is resorted to to enforce payment. The defaulter resists with obstinacy and upon principle, and yet moans and seeks commiseration like a helpless child. Much trouble and annoyance to both parties is the result; and the matter is finally settled by a panchāyat (committee of village elders)—a state of things, it may be remarked, exactly parallel to that existing to this day in parts of the country subject to native rule."

It is only when we come to days of the later Wāghelā (or Bāghelā) kings

* I need hardly allude to the case of the King Sidh Rāj-Jai Singh, who is expressly mentioned as reducing the independent (or Maṇḍalika) sovereigns all round, among them the long unconquered Rā of Junāgarh, proud of his Yādava descent and his connection with Krishnā.

† A curious intermediate form between "Pātīl" or "Pātel" of the existing dialects, and the Sanskrit "Patalika," which is said to occur in copper-plate inscriptions.

‡ Rāsmāla, p. 186. The passage is founded on a relation in the "Prabandh-Chintāmani" (circa 1300 A.D.) of an occurrence in the reign of Bhīm-Deo I. (1022 A.D.) given at p. 76.

and the beginning of the regular Moslem invasions (13th and 14th centuries) that we come upon a period of restless adventure and clan movement—I might almost say a period of anarchy—which resulted in the Jhālā possessions being obtained by grant as fiefs, and afterwards in the establishment of Kāthī colonies, and the local successes of adventurers of the Jhārejā, Gohil, Ṣodhā and Rāthor, clans. Then it was that the custom of making grants to chiefs of clans—securing their military service as the condition of holding the villages—received its great development. Thenceforward, too, we find an absence of strong centralized government, which defect was the occasion for endless petty feuds and local wars. The dismemberment of estates by partition among the members of the family seems also to have become common only in comparatively late times. Its possibility of course depends on the rule of the joint-succession of a number of male heirs to a deceased landholder, or to the separation of a hitherto joint-family in the lifetime of the head.

It would be interesting if we could prove when the idea of the joint-family and the right to partition (with consent) as described (for instance) in the *Laws of Manu*, first developed. But even if the germ of it existed among the earliest Aryan immigrants in the West of India, the partition of rulerships and chiefs' estates must have long remained unknown in practice; partly under the influence of the necessity for union and subordination to the clan chief, partly owing to the still surviving clan feeling, which, while acknowledging a certain right to share in the benefits of conquest or adventure on the part of every free member of a clan, nevertheless produces an instinctive tendency to submit to patriarchal authority. Ultimately, the evil effects of family partition are to some extent obviated by the recognition of primogeniture in the larger or more dignified estates. And in some clans we find that where an absolute custom of primogeniture is not adopted, provision is still made for the "eldest" by allowing him a larger share—sometimes a double share, sometimes $1\frac{1}{2}$ the ordinary lot.

In short we shall now be able to illustrate the multiplication and growth of landed estates, under the heads of (1) GRANTS—both feudal and for family subsistence; (2) PARTITIONS of hereditary estates; (3) mere CONQUEST or SEIZURE by violence, in the course of clan feuds, forays and adventures. It is not possible to keep these heads entirely distinct: the examples that occur frequently illustrate more than one of them simultaneously, and it is matter of choice under which head primarily to introduce them; but the general distinction will be useful.

CHIEFS' TITLES—THEIR COURTS.

Before however we proceed to these examples, let something be said about the *titles* borne by the chiefs, their sons and relatives, and about the *arrangements* of the Rājā's Court.

Col. Alex. Walker, who was Resident at Baroda in 1807, has given a detailed account, primarily relating to the principalities of Kāthiāwār, but which (as K. Forbes remarks)* is equally true of the whole country we are describing.

* Rāsmālā, p. 568.

The head of the family is alone called Rājā, and he must be independent,—not a vassal to any other member of the clan; though the payment of an enforced tribute to a suzerain, such as a Moslem emperor or Mahrātha chief, does not diminish his dignity. The titles Rānā, Rāo (or Rāv) are equivalent.* The Gohil territory of Bhaonāgar is ruled by a “Rāwal,” hardly, if at all, inferior to “Rājā.” The same title is found elsewhere, but as that of a dependent or minor chief. It may be modified into “Rāwat” or even shortened into “Rāt” (unless, indeed, these latter are otherwise derived, which is quite possible).

The sons of the great chief are called “Kunwar” (prince); the sons of a Kunwar, again, are “Thākur.” A Thākur however often holds a state which has become separate and independent but of minor rank. “Thākur,” says Col. Walker, “the next gradation below Rāwal, is applied to all those who are not powerful enough to use the title of Rājā, or who are the heads of distinct but inferior branches. To the head of the family, Thākurs owe feudal submission, exemplified in the payment of tribute, sending a horse, or by the performance of service.” During the father’s lifetime the Thākur’s sons are also called “Kunwar.” On the eldest son succeeding to the “gaddi” (locally “gādi” or state-cushion) he becomes Thākur; and the younger ones retain no specific title, but are generally spoken of as “bhūmiyā” (*i.e.*, landed proprietor) or “grāsiyā” (holder of a subsistence grant). The latter term will come up for full explanation presently, but the former properly implies an ancestral (superior) land-holding, which, strictly speaking, is independent of conditions and especially of “feudal” vassalage or service-obligation.† In general, however, it is used as the Hindi equivalent of the Persian “Zamindār” or “land-holder” in the literal sense; and is generically employed by Moslem (and other) writers to indicate an ancient, dignified, and territorial estate on any superior tenure. It will be remembered that the Moslem Sultāns from the first, assumed that, as conqueror, the sovereign was the actual owner of the whole soil; so that the old Rājput landed-aristocracy were only “Zamindār”—actually in possession (under tribute) of the Sovereign’s land—a position which the chiefs themselves, unless formally holding as recent grantees and in subjection, would have scouted.

The Rājā’s Court must have, from early times, been dignified with much barbaric splendour, not unmixed with a good deal of patriarchal simplicity.

* There can hardly be any doubt that the titles Rāo, Rānā are of northern (Indo-Scythian or Parthian) origin, as is suggested by the occurrence on the Kushan coinage of these titles. In some parts of India the use of the title varies: Rānā may be less than Rājā and even than Rāo. Sometimes it is the other way. In Mewār, for example, the ancient and dignified sovereign has the supreme title of Rānā (Tod, i. 175). The Jharejā chiefs who became Muhammadan took the title of Jām, which is, I believe, Tartar-Moslem, or not Hindu at any rate (Bo. Gaz., vol. viii. p. 111). I should like to suggest to linguists to inquire into the origin of the subordinate title “Thākur.” It is not Sanskrit in origin: and among the Gōṇḍ princes of the Cent. Provinces it was used for the *high priest* of the Rājās—head of the pardhān or priestly body.

† In Rājputāna the “bhūmiyā” estate is a permanent, hereditary, family property, which cannot change or pass away like the feudal holding; and many feudal chiefs had family (or as I may say private) *bhūmiyā* lands, as well as their more official *pattā* estates.

I will quote the picturesque description given by one of the bards of a local Court, which is one not of a greater chief, but of a "Thākur."* Ajboji, the grandson of Nāronji of the Makwāna-Koli clan, in Jhālāwār, holder of the estate of Katosan (which will again be mentioned in another connection) is the chief spoken of. If this amount of display was found in a minor court, it is easily imagined what might have been the appearance of the Court in the palmy days of the greater Anhilpur sovereigns. But we must allow a good deal for Oriental colouring and bardic imagination. "Drums beat," says the bard, "in the Court (darbār); water was sprinkled on the ground; many chiefs came thither to seek sanctuary; standing with their palms joined, they made their petitions. Before the descendant of Kānoji, as before Indra, sounded the thirty-six kinds of music; before him learned men read the Veds; sugar was supplied to the guests, goats' flesh, and flesh of hog; opium and saffron were daily distributed; dancers performed before Ajboji (the chief). Always in 'rang-rāg' he disported (*lit.* with 'splendour and song'). The singers, swinging, elephant-like, from side to side, sang songs. In spending money the chief was as free as Bali Rājā; in his kitchen daily, rice and milk and all kinds of ambrosia-like food were prepared. Over his house always floated the flag of *dharma* (*i.e.*, a flag to invite the religious to receive charity and pious gifts)." This chief too was a great plunderer, fighting both Moslems and Mahrāthas:—"from village to village" (says the bard) "he *fixed his grās*" (*i.e.*, levied blackmail as condition of his abstaining from molesting them).†

With all this apparent pomp and pretentiousness of court ceremony, there is really a good deal of freedom—indeed of primitive simplicity. Not only do we find allusion to the chief going round personally and looking after his village collections, but the people seem to deal with him with much freedom.‡ On one occasion, we are told, the "Mahārājā" of the hill state of Īdar "went out" with some Arab and Abyssinian (Habshi) mercenaries (from Sindh—which the Rājputs, however, rarely employed). His foray was successfully accomplished; but he had not the means to pay off the troops: whereupon they quietly surrounded His Highness for two whole days, and prevented him from either eating or smoking his *huggā*! But the King was not in the least disconcerted; he merely sent for the headmen of all his "*Khālsa*" (Crown-demesne) villages, and said, "You swallow up the whole produce of my villages and give me hardly anything. Now therefore, what remedy do you propose,—as the troops have set a

* Indeed the proper title was "Rāwat"—theoretically a degree lower.

† Rāsmāla, p. 438. Nevertheless, in a terrible famine in 1813 Ajboji opened his granaries to the poor. The bards give a graphic description of the famine; and also many stories of the Rāwat's fighting and defeating the Moslem.

‡ It is mentioned in the Dāntā State (for example) that when in 1801 the young chief had just succeeded on the death of his elder brother Mān Singh, a village headman came to complain of the loss of his buffaloes in a raid. "Give me a spade," he said (of course in the hearing of the chief), "that if anywhere a bone is left of my lord Mān Singh, I may dig it up: had that lord been alive the Bhils would not have carried off the buffaloes from my village." The young chief, not in the least offended, promptly took the hint and set out on a foray (tilādhār, see p. 14) to recover the cattle.

watch over me?" The headmen then "willingly" paid *finēs*, according to their ability !*

GRANTS.

We have to distinguish (a) the "fief" (*pattā*) or grant in vassalage—on condition of rendering aid and military service to the head of the State, and (b) the "grās" or grant made to cadets of the house, or to others, as a property in which at first the grantee had only a life interest, but which soon became hereditary.

(a) The grantees known as *pattāwat* or vassal chiefs, might be of the "bhāiyād," or brotherhood (in clan) of the principal chief, or they might be foreigners: they were bound to do homage for their land, to military service, sometimes to render aid in money or supplies, and even to pay fixed dues. The "Khālsa" and the "*pattāwat*" lands together constituted the sphere of the Rājā's general dominion; though he did not interfere, ordinarily, in the administration of the subordinate estates, nor (of course) take the revenue-collections in them. Additional estates (for the subordinate chiefs) might sometimes be formed by seizing a neighbour's lands or by establishing a new settlement in an adjacent unoccupied tract—of which at first there were plenty. As an example, I may cite the once celebrated State of Īdar, at the close of the 14th century—while it was still in existence, though more or less tributary to the Moslem Governor of Gujarāt. In the days of Rājā Ranmal, we find the ruler seizing the neighbouring territory called Bhagar, and making it over as a fief-grant to a Solankhi chief (*i.e.*, of another clan): also entertaining some distressed Chauhān chieftains and giving them all fiefs. And much later, in the days of the Mahrātha, when Īdar had been pretty completely conquered, the chief—now with the high-sounding title of Mahārājā,—had a demesne with a revenue of a *lakh* of rupees, and the rest of the territory held by eight "*pattāwat*" vassals. There were also some 20 or 30 petty Rājput, and half-Kolī, chiefs once called vassals, but then living under the nominal protection of Īdar, and paying a tribute or rent. Of the eight greater subordinate estates, one (Mundaitī) was held by a Chauhān, others by members of the Rājā's own clan (Rāthor). Each headed a different branch-clan and used separate names—Jodhā, Chāmpa, Kūmpā, etc. Of these, the most important was the "Kūmpāwat" Chief of Undānī, distinguished by being entitled to have a silver staff borne before him, to sit in a litter (*sukhāsan*), to sound the kettle-drum (*naubat*) at the head of his cavalcade, and to use the royal *chāmar* or *chaunrī* (*fly-flap*). The Rājā himself would rise to receive this chief when he entered the Court, and embraced him when he retired. But his most important privilege was to wear a heavy gold anklet, and smoke a golden *huqqā* in the royal presence. Here evidently we have the "feudal" system of territorial allotment such as Tod describes in Rājputānā.† Of course it would depend on the

* *Rāsmālā*, p. 484.

† It is extremely curious to notice that this idea of a central demesne with vassal states around it, and the strongest military chiefs holding the frontier,—and graphically represented as an expanded flower, with its petals round a central disk—does not seem to be the ideal of monarchy as depicted in the "Laws of Manu." Mr. J. F. Hewitt declares that it is

ability of the Rājā and the general state of the country, whether these outlying estates remained loyal and united, or set up as independent states. In the latter case it would soon become difficult to distinguish them from a number of petty territorial chiefships of irregular origin, in which the "baron"—however lordly his self-assumed title—was only a robber chief or a freebooter.

The pattāwat chiefs, in their turn, created subordinate service-tenures, the holders of which were called "zīlāyat" (adopting the Arabic word *zīl*, a district). The Rājā sometimes granted land on such a tenure himself; and then the pattāwat would have no power to dispossess the holder—who was "the King's man."

These grants were very frequently determined in size by local or natural boundaries, if these came handy; but very frequently, also, the grant was reckoned by the number of *villages*—84, 42, and 24, which it contained. But this will come to our notice again.

The Jhālā clan possessions may be instanced as the first mentioned regular creation of vassal estates (by grant) on the part of the Anhilpur Sovereigns; and that was quite at the end of their time (reign of Karn Wāghelā). The Jhālā clan has already been alluded to as connected, in some way, with the Wāghelā and the Solankhi, and derived from the Makwāna clan. Harpāl, it will be remembered, was an able leader of the time, and obtained a large grant of villages in fief.* His two brothers, Wajepāl and Shamtājī, also became founders of *separate* little territories. For Wajepāl turned Mussulmān, and of course separated himself, founding the new estate of Mandwā in the Rewakānthā.† The other brother also married the daughter of a Bhil chief, and so losing caste, started a new branch of his own; and as he served with much distinction under one of the Sultans, he was rewarded with a "chaurassi" (fief of eighty-four villages) at Katosan. This estate was held for many generations, and became much divided and subdivided.

In the same way another branch estate—this time arising out of a marriage with a Koli chief's family—was formed around Datroj: it was a fief of forty-four villages hence known as "the Chūnwāl." But I shall follow the history of this presently when I speak of the partition of estates.

(b) In later times, when the Mussulman Governor appeared on the scene, royal grants tended to lose their special character as "fiefs," at least in many cases; and apart from that, it had long before been the custom to

the essentially Dravidian plan; and certainly it appears with great distinctness in the Gond, and other Nāgbansi Kingdoms in Eastern Central India. It will be also remembered that these Gujarāt Rājās, though all Hindus by profession, were really all of them of mixed race, largely derived from the Sakā, the Kushan, and the Hūna tribes. None had any real connection with the old Aryan Kshatriya clans, though no doubt some of them shared the Yādava (Aryan) blood.

* See p. 140 (July number of this *Review*). Probably there was also much waste land, which the multiplying members of the clan brought under cultivation: their possessions were large enough to make a whole division known as Jhālāwār.

† It was the chief of this little State, then (about 1782) a turbulent "Mewāsi" chief, who attempted to carry off Mr. James Forbes, when retiring from the charge of Dabhoi.

make grants of villages—or rather of the royal rights in villages—under the name of grās, or “subsistence.”* The holder is called “grāsiya.” He might be, and at first usually was, a cadet (phutāyo) member of the reigning chief’s (tilāyat) family. The grant was (in theory) for his life only; but in the process of time, it naturally became understood that the right to it continued as long as there were heirs: if the grantee died childless, of course the villages reverted to the Rājā. The grant was not made on any formal condition of military service like the “pattāwat” grant; though in time of trouble the Rājā would expect all his “grāsiyās” to turn out with their followers, and come to his aid. Hence it became common to speak of *any* kind of superior grantee (or presumed grantee) of land, as a “grāsiyā chief.” The grantee had every opportunity for *making himself the owner* of the whole estate—but he did not thereby dispossess the actual cultivators (whom he was only too glad to retain): the theory was, that he was simply taking the Rājā’s rights and dues assigned to him. Indeed, in some cases, the grāsiyā was not allowed to take the whole of the Royal dues, but only part. But of course, as grantee, he would be free to cultivate for his own profit as much waste land in the circle of the estate, as he could. This alone would be sufficient to give him a virtually proprietary character.

The Moslem rulers, wherever the grāsiyā estate-holders were within reach of their territorial administration, made them pay an assessment, or at least a quit-rent (called “salāmi” or locally “chukāoti”).† And in days of disorder, many of these petty estate-holders, broken loose from the bonds of allegiance to the heads of their families, were dispossessed. Sometimes, too, smarting under injuries inflicted on them—rightly or wrongly—they rebelled, and became regarded (not without reason) as turbulent outlaws; and the term “grassia,” or “gracia,” occurs in old books very much as if it was the name of some wild tribe like the Bhil. In fact, when rebellious chiefs were outlawed and deprived of their lands,‡ they would take refuge in some fort, or hill-fastness, and thence support themselves by levying blackmail on the villages round,—so that “grās” acquired a still further meaning. This sort of blackmail payment was, however, distinguished as “torā-(or todā-)grās,” and in Gujarāt as “wol.”§ There are still a few cases in which this payment has become so long established, that Govern-

* This word—in the form grās or girās, occurs in all the Hindī dialects, meaning a “mouthful”—from the Sanskrit root gras, to swallow, or devour. The bards use the word in early times for a *religious* grant (Rāsmālā, p. 186): but in later times that use was generally dropped; religious and charitable grants being called pasāita, lākhpasāv, and by other names.

† The Moslem writers spoke of all the Rājput chiefs’ estates as “grās.” (Cf. Bayley’s Gujarāt, p. 16, for example.) The Jhālā and Wāghelā chiefs were said to hold all Jhālāwar “in grās,” the Rāv and the Jām (chiefs of Sorath) had “400 villages in grās”; and so on.

‡ The sequel will show many instances of this under the Sultans.

§ Sometimes local Rulers would *grant* such an allowance out of the revenues as a compensation for deprivation of territory. Thus we hear of a Rājā of Īdar at one time disputing with the Sultān, and the matter being compromised by the grant of a “wol” from certain territories, which, Mr. K. Forbes informs us, the present holders of the Pol estate still receive.

ment has continued it as a prescriptive and hereditary "political (cash) allowance."*

Readers of James Forbes' "Oriental Memoirs" will remember how that gentleman was in charge of the then British territory of Dabhoi, which was, in 1782, restored by treaty to the Mahrāthas (with whom it still remains: *i.e.*, in the Baroda State). He found the condition of the districts much improved: "they would have been still more flourishing," he writes,† "had not the cruel depredations of the Bheels and 'Gracias' prevented the distant villages from sharing the tranquillity of those situated nearer the protection of the capital." The "Gracias" of the locality, he goes on to say, "were arranged according to their caste and religion under a variety of petty sovereigns, Hindu and Muhammadan, who were dignified with the titles of Rājā, Rānā, and other royal appellations." "They have the usual appointments of an oriental darbār (Court), blended with a meanness and rapacity difficult to conceive." This description applied to the petty States of Mandwā, Vazeria, and Valūriā, with their dependents. Others were more respectable. The allusion to some of them being Muhammadans, refers to the fact, that by that time, some of the "Rājputs" had become "mol-salām"—as they were contemptuously called—converts to the Moslem faith.‡

Such, then, was the origin of the "grāsiya" estate, which figures so largely in Gujarāt history: originally a formal life-grant for the support of a subordinate family connected with the ruling house, and then applied in a wider sense, to all sorts of petty estates, even to those precariously held by free-booters.

But there were one or two more special ways of getting *grants*, which are interesting and may be briefly mentioned. One was a grant made for the support of families whose head had been slain in the chief's service (ranwaṭiya grant)—"for their father's heads," as the bards expressed it. Similar concessions were made to heal a feud, or compensate a murder.§ The deed of such a grant, quoted by K. Forbes, recites that "a quarrel had occurred at the village of Bārījarā among the 'brothers'; and two chiefs cut off the head of a third." Therefore Mālji and Hamirji (the two in question) are expelled from the *chaurassi* (territory of 84 villages) of Limbri; and the "*grās*" (hereditary land) of the chiefs, consisting of a share in the villages of Barijarā and Jhālyā are irrevocably (aghāt) given to Kashiyāji (heir of the murdered chief) as the "price of Rāmsinghji's head." Kashiyāji is to "receive the revenues of the two villages and

* And the amount is usually shared between several descendants of an originally entitled person. There is a Bombay Act (VII. of 1887) regulating this, and making the right to receive the payment inalienable.

† Oriental Memoirs, ii. 247. (8vo. edition of 1834.)

‡ The opprobrious term is a corruption of mahal-i-salām—*lii.*, those who had made their "bow to the palace"—had become converts to please the Governor and gain grants and other advantages. And by this time there were doubtless some original Moslem adventurers who had managed to get hold of lands or villages. Mr. James Forbes himself narrowly escaped being taken prisoner, as he was leaving Dabhoi, by the chief of Mandwā.

§ See Rāsmālā, p. 409.

enjoy the *grās*." Then follow some clauses about the guilty party not residing within the estate ; the whole is signed by the (Jhālā) "Mahārāja" and several of his vassal chiefs.

Grants of land were also given to furnish the pay of troops of mercenaries (Minā, Bhil, etc.) employed by chiefs.

There is no doubt, too, that grants were made, on especially favourable terms, to encourage or reward those (often chiefs of the half-blood) who became converts. For instance, the existing Tālukdār landlords of Dholka originated in a family of the Pramāra clan, who in the reign of Sultan Mahmūd "Bigarhā," came to the Sovereign's aid against one of the Sindh princes. One of the family received a grant of the "chaubīsī" (24 villages) of Botād.* Another grantee was Hāluji, who obtained the restoration of a huge tract of land (in the peninsula) "which had been ploughed up and sown with salt by the Pādshāh."† Another case will be noticed under the head of "partition," to which I now proceed.

EFFECTS OF FAMILY PARTITION.

Estates were sometimes amicably divided ; sometimes rent by the result of family quarrels. In this way a number of independent properties were started. "A fruitful source of dissension," says K. Forbes (speaking of the Jhālā estates), "and not confined to this part of Gujarāt, was the system under which the property of a chieftain was divided and subdivided among his descendants. A constant state of enmity among the Rājput families themselves has resulted from the endeavours of the superior chieftains to preserve their territory from dismemberment, by force or fraud employed against the junior branches of the families."

I have already alluded to the Katosan estate. Another branch of the same family is represented by Kānji (Kāhanji?), the Rāt or Rāwat. He became possessed of the "Chūnwāl" territory (as already stated). After various fortunes (in the course of which the chief was outlawed by the Muhammadans, but was restored) the estate passed into the hands of a descendant named Kānāji, and soon appears divided. One portion (of a few villages) was kept by Kānāji himself ; the rest was formed into four lots for the sons (during the father's lifetime). The youngest (Bhupat Singh) was a minor at the time of his father's death, and the others tried

* See Rāsmāla, p. 281.

† The story of the appearance of a Moslem chief in the vicinity of Gīrnār (of ancient Jain sanctity) is rather curious. I take it from the late Mr. Pedder's "*Early History and Legend of Gujarāt*" (p. 150) in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January, 1887. The Junāgarh territory had been subdued, or at least made tributary ; still, the old Yādava chiefs would have been left unmolested had they not soon revolted and the Rāv threw down the mosque the Sultān Ahmad had built, and "held towards Mahmūd the language of an equal." The Sultān "of the two forts" undertook a long and arduous campaign against Junāgarh, and at last took the fortress. The Rāv on his defeat became a convert, and was granted "a title and an estate." "It might be suspected of satire," says Mr. Pedder, "if a Mussalman historian ever jested at the faith or the holy saints," but the Rāv, being brought to Ahmadābād, saw there the great magnificence in which the saint Shāh 'Ālam lived : asking how the holy man acquired such wealth, he was told that "it was in the service of the Almighty only." The Hindu declared that this was the religion for him ; "and he became a sincere and rather eminent Moslem."

to oust him. The boy took refuge with the Chief of Chaniyār (a distant kinsman), and in due course of time was married to the daughter of the Chief of Panār: with his aid the youth recovered his own share and also seized on the shares of his three brothers.* Bhupat Singh lived till 1814, and came into conflict with the Barodā Gaikwād (Malhar Rāv) and, being ousted, supported himself by plundering the villages.

But an earlier case (*temp.* Sultān Ahmad Shāh I.) must be given. Two Wāghelā brothers were driven to outlawry, but, after some rather incredible adventures, were pardoned, because of a very beautiful sister whom they gave in marriage to the Sultān. In return they got a grant of 500 villages at Kalol. The king asked how they would divide the property? and was told that the elder brother would receive the larger share; asking again what was the foundation for this custom, he was told that it was "force." The Sultān however decided that as both brothers had suffered equally, they should share equally. The eldest accordingly received Kalol, with 250 villages, and the other Sānand, also with 250. Kalol remained entire for 3 generations: but at last one of the descendants, Rupāl, separated, with an estate of 42 villages; but the head was still wealthy, and in 1499 A.D., his wife devoted a large sum to building a magnificent well (in the Gujarāt fashion) with flights of steps down to the water and adorned with temples, at Adālij. In Mahrātha times (1728) the State fell; and the chief escaping, seized the solitary village of Lambodra, which his descendants still hold. The Rupāl estate, just spoken of, was itself sub-divided; and half a "chaubisi" (or 14 villages)† went to a younger son. Afterwards the original territory seems to have been lost; and the family appear holding an estate near the Sābarmati and in the hill country, as vassals of Īdar. The Sānand estate remains to this day, but divided into two—Kot and Gāngar.

EFFECTS OF CONQUEST, SEIZURE, AND QUARRELS.

I am afraid that this source of land-holding will be more largely illustrated than any other: and, indeed, the materials are so abundant, that I have to make a somewhat severe selection: but the details, if lamentable, are often highly characteristic and picturesque.

In fact, all the estates originated more or less (in the first instance) in adventure and conquest: since before any chief was in a position to give "grās" estates, or select his vassals, he had to acquire his own territory. And the limits of his authority were, in most cases, simply a matter of conquest. For example, the estate of Īdar (so often alluded to) had become entirely disorganized; and when Rāo Bhān succeeded (in the reign of Sultān Mahmūd Bīgarhā) he found it necessary "to fix his boundaries." The bards tell us how first "he struck" the village of Lās

* By the way, the bards in reciting the story, give some curious details about the Chief of Panār fighting, with the aid of "malīkar" or forayers, and how he slew Jathā "Pātel"—the Mahrātha Minister of State who was making revenue-collections [notice the *village* title held by a man of ministerial rank] and how he lost his own life. This was about 1720 A.D. (Rāsmāla, p. 435).

† The numbers were often inexact, but approximated to the standards 84, 42, 24, or the half of these. (21, the exact half of 42, is an unlucky number, and so is 11.)

(which properly belonged to his neighbour of Sirohī): there he set up a "pāliyo" or boundary stone, with the sacred horse rudely sculptured on it.* Next a boundary mark was fixed at a certain mausoleum or funeral-temple; beyond this "he took" the land of Chapanpāl (now part of Mewār) and so on. The territory was the Rājā's *bhāg* or "portion."

"I am Rānā Wāgh

Up to the Harnām is my *bhāg*."

So says the bardic rhyme in another case. The Kāthīs called their clan *locale*, the "prānt."

Just as the estate is acquired by force, or even where it began with a grant, so it has to be maintained. Unless there is some central power strong enough to enforce the peace, the chiefs are always quarrelling on the slightest pretext. Every young chief on succeeding to an estate thought it necessary to establish his position by going out on an "inaugural foray" —*tilādhār*.†

Then, too, in spite of the plan of giving land-grants for the subsistence of cadets, there were sure to be many who were dissatisfied, or who thought they could do better elsewhere. Accordingly, they go away, become vassal-grantees under some other Rājā, or simply seize some available estate in the course of some knight-errant adventure.‡

Of simple cases of seizure the instances are innumerable. Dānta had two dependencies, one held by the chief's brother (Rānpur estate), the other by the son of another brother (Sudāsan estate): the latter's share somehow got reduced, and he attacked his uncle's estate, with the view of enlarging his border. The uncle called in the help of "Mewāsis and free-booters," and the nephew came to an untimely end. The victorious uncle of course seized his nephew's slender property. But the youth's mother lived and was loud in her laments: and the uncle at last compromised matters by giving her the village of Uderan, which her descendants still hold.

I have mentioned the establishment of the Gohil clan at Pirambh on the coast.§ About the time of the Muhammadan invasions during the 14th century, the heir of the clan estates was a minor—named Sārangji; his guardian handed him over to the Moslems as a hostage, and himself

* Rāsmāla, p. 283.

† See the anecdote at p. 171, *ante*.

‡ There is a pretty story in the Rāsmāla (p. 91) illustrating this. The (Pramāra) Rājā of Mālwa has two wives, one of a Solānkhī, the other of a Wāghelā family. Jagdeo (Jagatdeva), the son of the former, complains that he and his mother have only "grās" of a single village. The King accordingly orders a cash allowance to be added; but this excites the jealousy of the other members. Accordingly Jagdeo tells his mother that he had better go away. "I am a Rājput, I will go somewhere or other and earn my bread."

"A stone article, a good man, are not sold by weight:

The further they go from home, the more valuable they become."

Jagdeo repairs to his clan-kinsman the Rājā Sidh Rāj of Anhilpura (12th century), and is offered his choice between a cash pension and a vassal-grant (*pattā*). This makes other courtiers jealous, whence a long story of varied adventures.

§ July number (1898) of this *Review*, pp. 140, 141.

assumed the "throne." The boy was, however, stolen away by friends, and when he came of age was sent back with an armed force to recover his estates : the uncle (guardian) in alarm, applied to two friendly chiefs, offering them grants of half a "chaubisi" each, to support his cause. They promptly went off to the rightful heir, and showed their *pattas*, which were now confirmed by the other party ! The uncle, seeing he had no chance, soon made his submission—"the chieftains drank the red-cup together and agreed to forget the past."* The uncle was allowed "grās" of several villages, the holders of which still keep up the title of "Goghārī" (Gōghā is the Gohil capital).

I have said that dismemberment of estates was also brought about by feuds and quarrels ; these often arose out of the most absurd and trifling incidents. The Political Agent in the early years of this century, reported the wretched state of the country which resulted from the "war" which had long existed between the Rājās of Limbri, Wadhwan, and Drāngudrā. The whole quarrel arose out of the ridiculous circumstance of a party of Drāngudrā horsemen having taken a goat from a shepherd, for which they offered to pay : but the shepherd (of a hostile clan) complained, and brought down a party of Wadhwan men, who seized the flesh while the others were preparing to cook it for their meal. This led to a fight : one outrage followed another ; nor was the quarrel settled till *every village* save four, of Wadhwan tāluka (some sixty in number) had been laid waste, and the walls of the town breached. The other tālukās suffered in proportion.†

These forays, it is needless to say, were often conducted with great cruelty. In one place the bard uses the expression (of a certain chief) "that he *churned* Maru land (Marwār) as the *devs* churn the ocean."‡ On another occasion, the forayers found a sugar-cane crop on the ground ; they proceeded to cut the canes, and *built huts with them*, in which they encamped for some time. We shall see further (in another connection) what bitter fruits this continual quarrelling bore, and how powerless the Mussulmān government was, except fitfully and at times, to keep order.

ESTATE MANAGEMENT.

We are again indebted to Col. Walker for valuable information regarding the management of the estates. It will be observed that all the superior ones, involved distinctly, the rule and administration (such as it was) of the territories ; every regular estate, whether of a Rājā or a Thākur was ruled independently by the Chief, who certainly regarded himself as owner of the

* Rāsmāla, p. 289. The "red cup" which so often figures in "Rājput" stories, does not refer to red wine (as an English reader might suppose), that beverage being unknown ; it refers to some sweetened and coloured drink probably made with opium.

† I will only in a note recall also the case in which, when a body of Sodhā Parmārs were seeking a settlement in Gujarāt, the chief of Syelā attacked them on the pretext of a *partridge* he had shot falling in their camp, and they refusing to give it up in consequence.

‡ Rāsmāla, p. 449. Nor does it appear that anyone regarded these high-handed proceedings and robbery of a neighbour's lands as in the least degree reprehensible,—far less as disgraceful !

soil in some (perhaps not very definite) sense. Only the smaller estates, grants, and subsistence allotments of villages, were not properly rulerships, though locally the owner may have exercised considerable powers. Even in vassal (*pattāwat*) estates the chief had a plenary jurisdiction extending to life and death: "it was never thought necessary to make reference to the superior Government residing at the capital of the central State." In respect to exterior relations the same freedom existed. Peace and war were determined on at pleasure; nor does it appear that the superior chiefs who received tribute interfered in any transaction domestic or foreign, so long as it was not inimical to themselves. Inside each State, the ruling chief levied taxes, a grain share from the land, and also free labour for himself, and certain supplies for his Court. The chief source of income was the land-revenue payment from the agriculturists; but the artificers were bound to render their services when required. There were transit-dues on trade goods, taxes on liquor shops, and other imposts of the same kind. Fees, but very light ones, for permission to marry, were charged on all subjects. The produce of fruit-trees generally belonged to the lord: and he took the tree itself, if it fell.

The land-revenue was, as I have said, the principal source of income; the amount of it was fixed by custom to a great extent; but there was no formal limit to what the chief could demand; the customary share (*dhārā*) was not often exceeded, however; and in time of need, an impost of "bābti" or extra-cesses, was here, as almost everywhere else, the favourite device for obtaining an increase. Ordinarily the land-revenue was taken in kind; except in the case of crops like tobacco, opium, and vegetables or spices, which, not being easily divisible, were paid for by a cash-rate.* The proportion taken by the lord varied from one-third to one-half, and sometimes was as low as one-fourth. Rice and irrigated crops paid one-third. The favourite mode of assessing the total produce and the shares of each party was that called "*kaltar*"—similar to the "*kankūt*" of Upper India.† At the risk of occupying space, I must quote Mr. Kinloch Forbes' amusing account of the mode of proceeding:

"When the festival called *Akhātri* comes round, in the month *Waisākh* (April—May), the grantee, or the chief, collects the cultivators and tells them it is time to commence work. No! the assessment was too heavy last year: you lay too many taxes upon us: besides, we have in truth no master over our heads (*i.e.*, you do not act as our ruler);

* It may be mentioned that when subsistence grants were made to cadets, it was sometimes a condition that the grantee got the grain-share and other perquisites, but the cash payments went to the head-chief's treasury.

† "*Kaltar*" means making an eye estimate of the yield, and so determining the quantity demanded of the cultivator, whether more or less is actually produced. It must be admitted that in practice the yield was very accurately estimated. Such a system is a sort of advance on the earlier plan of "*batāi*," *i.e.*, dividing the actual grain heap when threshed out. In the *Bhāl* country, and parts where wheat is grown (by an autumn sowing without irrigation) a special custom prevailed. The furrows were made in groups of three: so each field was divided into three parts: in one the *first* furrow or line of wheat was selected, in another the *second*, in the third the *third* line. The grain in each line being reaped and weighed, an average yield was struck, and the estimate for the whole fixed, by a process of multiplication by the number of furrows in each field.

people burn our houses and lay waste our lands, and you afford us no protection and do not go out on the 'wār' (an expedition to retaliate).*

"The chief makes sundry excuses : the most usual and convenient of which is that everything is the fault of that rascal of a *mahato* (his man of business in the village), whom he protests his intention of dismissing at once. . . . After much haggling, and when the chief has presented the *pāṭels* (headmen) with turbans and made liberal promises of remission of rent, the auspicious day is at length fixed upon and cultivation is commenced.

"When the crop is ripe, there is the visiting of the fields by the chief or his man of business, with the village representatives. Each suggests his estimate of the quantity of grain that such and such a field should yield. When the cultivator hears it, of course he says, 'Lord of the earth ! so much as that will never be produced, and I who am a poor man will be utterly destroyed.' After more haggling, terms are settled ; security is given or the grain, and the crops are allowed to be reaped."

Under such circumstances the chief or his grantee must necessarily be very much like the *de facto* owner, though of course he never contemplates depriving the cultivators of their hereditary position—such a matter does not come within the range of any practical question at all. If now the "lord" is absorbed into the Khālśa territory of the conquering sovereign of the whole country, be he Moslem or Mahrāthā, his rulership (except in his own idea) is at an end : at most he is regarded as the King's agent, or "Zamindār," managing the estate ; he has to pass on to the Treasury a considerable share of what he collects—or rather, he compounds for a certain cash total sum, and very probably accepts a "sanad," or a "lease" as we call it, specifying the amount, and securing possession. Moreover, it is likely (as we shall see hereafter) that the extent or area of his estate has been arbitrarily reduced. In any case, as the independent dignity of the warlike ruling chief declines, he is drawn by necessity closer to the land, and concerns himself with its management in a manner far more direct than would have ever been attempted while he was an independent Rājā. In short, he passes step by step into the position of a landlord, or landowner—as far as the superior title of the State or Emperor permits us to call him so. In many cases the estates were simply absorbed into the Moslem Khālśa ; or the original owner, being slain in battle or ejected, was replaced by some military jāgirdār grantee of the conqueror. And throughout the lands appropriated as Khālśa, the cultivating villagers are regarded as *raiyaṭs* directly under the lordship of the State as supreme owner ; their grain dues are paid to the State officers. That is why the bulk of the villages in Ahmādābād, Kaira, Sūrāt and Bharoch, are now raiyatwārī villages holding directly under the State. Only here and there have some "talukdārī" or other landlord estates been preserved in consequence of some special grant or permission. For the great body of the semi-independent "political" estates, we have to look outside the limits of the Khālśa districts, whether Moslem or Mahrāthā,—to the peninsula of Kāthiāwār, to the hilly country near the headwaters of the Mahi river, along the Mahi hills, and to the Rewākānthā. Here the chiefs, whether Koli or Rājput, were never permanently subdued ; they were occasionally made to pay as heavy a tribute as could be exacted by a show

* Compare the incident related at p. 171, *ante*.

of military force. But whether the estate is a tolerably peaceful "landlordship" or tālukdāri, or whether it is a rude frontier barony, the origin of it is one and the same; it was acquired by conquest, or held under grant (of one kind or another), or it represents a (partitioned) family share of a greater estate, as above explained.

It remains now to illustrate the mode of administration which the Moslem Governors adopted in Gujarāt, and especially to speak of their ideas of "resuming," or at least reducing the area of, the "bhūmiya" estates. It was under this system too that so much suffering was entailed by the chiefs being "outlawed"—in which case they roamed the country, attacking villages and levying blackmail, and causing not a little confusion.

The brief Mahrāthā rule must then be noticed; and finally we shall be in a position to understand what the British rulers did, or tried to do, in reducing the chaos of these political and landed estates to something like order; and to show the effects of such measures, by describing a few typical forms of estate, as they now exist, in different districts.

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES AND NEWS.

INDIA : NEW ECCLESIASTICAL ARRANGEMENTS.

Hitherto churches for the troops in India, consecrated in accordance with the requirements of the Church of England, have been used for the services of the Church of England and that of Scotland, subject to arrangements with the Bishop. The Government of India, by Resolution dated June 17, 1898, has made an important change. Such churches may now be used both by Presbyterians, Wesleyans, and other Nonconformists, subject to the consent of the Bishop with respect to details as to the hours of worship. But, if any dissatisfaction should arise, an appeal may be made to the Lieutenant-General and the Commander-in-Chief with respect to Cantonment churches, and to the Civil Governor of Provinces with respect to other churches built or subsidized by the Government. The new rule is so important that we quote its exact terms :

"If in any case dissatisfaction is felt with any order passed under these rules, either as to the use of a church by a congregation not belonging to the Church of England, or as to the hour at which it is made available for the use of such congregation, the Senior Chaplain of the Church of Scotland or the General Superintendent of the Wesleyan Church, as the case may be, may bring the matter before the Lieutenant-General of the Command through the General Officer commanding the district ; and the Lieutenant-General shall then, if he considers this necessary, communicate with the Bishop, in order, if possible, to arrange the matter with him. Should the Senior Chaplain of the Church of Scotland, or the General Superintendent of the Wesleyan Church, as the case may be, be dissatisfied with the arrangement made between the Lieutenant-General of the Command and the Bishop, he shall be at liberty to ask the Lieutenant-General that the matter may be referred for final decision in the case of churches situate in cantonments and provided solely for the use of soldiers to his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, and in the case of other churches to the Local Government."

INDIA : VERNACULAR EDUCATION.

We are favoured with two important pamphlets on the "Encouragement of Vernaculars," being reprints of very able articles by C. V. Swaminath-Aiyar which have appeared in the *Madras Mail* and *Madras Review*. In earnest and forcible language, the author points out the radical defects of the present system of education in the Universities and Government Schools. Too much stress has been hitherto placed on the desire of parents to see their children educated in English with the view of speedy employment, and on the side of those who control the University system to prepare students for official appointments. The author shows that each of those views is radically wrong, as violating the first principles of social life and educational training. In the elementary and secondary schools, the youth ought to be taught in the "vernaculars," in order that they may grasp their own tongues, and be useful in their various spheres of social life ; and in the Universities, the study of vernacular literature ought, at least, to have an equal place with English. Thus by English modes and

training, from the University down to the lowest elementary school, the acquisition of knowledge in native languages and literature would be encouraged and promoted, instead of by the present system allowed to fall into desuetude. This is a natural and most reasonable mode of procedure, and the only way by which the masses of the people can be truly educated, and inspired not only with a love of their own language, but a love of their past literature and history. As it has been indicated by the able writer, true education is not to "manufacture candidates for office," but to make them men—good parents, loyal citizens, enlightened and capable administrators, and just and beneficent rulers. We most cordially recommend the perusal of these pamphlets by all who desire to promote the happiness and permanent welfare of India.

NEPAUL AND CHINA.

Tribute Envoys from Nepaul last arrived at Peking in 1896: the Assistant-Envoy Sa-ta-r Tsun-ta Pi-jê Ts'i-ya-cha Han Ts'i-ya-ti-jê died there of congestion of the lungs, and was washed in river-water, and cremated outside the Tung-pien Gate, in accordance with Nepaulese custom, the ashes being then thrown into the river. The mission consisted of 32 persons, 20 being of "unnamed" rank: one of these last was flogged for swindling. The name of the deceased officer, who was attended by an English doctor, sounds like Sirdar Rajendra Vir Jiyardja Khan Jiyetir. These missions are mere trading speculations, and the Chinese give much more than they receive. (See article by Mr. Parker, pp. 64-82).

THE NAME OF THE YANGTZSE RIVER.

SIR,

In reference to the name of the Yangtzse River, I send you the following notes made by us in 1861, and subsequently published in the book "Five Months on the Yangtzse":

"With respect to the various English names under which the Yangtzse Kiang is known, as 'Son of the Ocean,' 'Great River,' 'Blue River,' and 'Gold-sand River,' I should remark that these are translations of the native names for different parts of its course; but there is one, namely, the first and most important, because it is taken to be the translation of 'Yangtzse,' of the validity of which there seems to be some doubt. Abbé Huc, who is a good authority, calls it the 'Child of the Ocean.' . . .

"It has also been interpreted the 'Son that Spreads,' but I am informed that this interpretation is erroneous. The whole matter depends on the Chinese character 'Yang,' and it is difficult to say what it signifies in this instance. By the Rev. Mr. Wylie, the literal translation is considered to be 'the river of, or belonging to, Yang,' Yang being the name of a former eastern division of the Empire, of which Yang-chow, on the Grand Canal to the north of Chin-Kiang, was one of the principal towns."

By Europeans the river is divided into the "upper" and the "lower Yangtzse," this latter name applying to the river as far as the junction with the Tung-ting Lake, and the term "upper" to the remainder. But by the

Chinese themselves the river is only known as "Chang-Kiang" (the long river).

That portion of the river extending from its junction with the Tung-ting Lake to Sha-shi (the river port of King-chou-fu) is known to the Chinese as King-hö (King River), the town of King-hö-Kow (signifying King River mouth) being situated at the above-named junction.

Above Sha-shi, extending as far as Sui-fu (on map Su-chow), where the Min flows into the Yangtze at a distance of about 200 miles from Chung-King, this portion of the river is called by the natives "Chuan-hö," or Szechuan River. Above the tributary stream of the Min, the name given is "Kin-Cha-King," or river of golden sand.

I am, etc.,

ALFRED BARTON, M.D.

1, Cranley Mansion, London,
November 22.

CHINA—RUSSIAN AND AMERICAN COMMERCIAL INTERESTS.

The American Consuls report on the effect of Russian trade with American commerce. They state that Russia, by allowing rebates on goods from their own country, in other words, bounties, is ousting American goods, as it has done to English goods in Persia, and no doubt when the Siberian Railway is completed, the same policy will be adopted, and thus wreck both American and English trade as effectually as the bounty on beetroot-sugar has ruined the cane-sugar industry of the West Indies. The Consul of Amoy reports the prospect of unlimited trade in cotton fabrics and articles of food, the price of which can be brought within reach of the masses. The imports from America exceed all the European Powers. Last year the imports from America was $12\frac{1}{2}$ million taels, from Continental Europe $8\frac{1}{2}$ millions, and from the whole of Russia $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions.

A HIGH-CLASS REVIEW IN JAPAN.

The *Kokumin Shimbun* of Tokio, Japan, has recently introduced an interesting and novel feature into its columns. Among its other efforts to promote a good understanding between Japan and the rest of the world has been the establishment of a high-class monthly review and magazine, written in English, and called *The Far East*. This has now been incorporated into the *Kokumin Shimbun*. The most striking feature of the innovation is the insertion of notes written in Japanese, but printed in the Roman character. This may lead to a general adoption of Roman letters for writing the Japanese language, an innovation certainly desirable from various points of view, but attended by very serious difficulties.

KHARTUM—GORDON MEMORIAL COLLEGE.

Lord Kitchener of Khartum propounded a scheme for establishing and endowing a college at Khartum in memory of Gordon. The district of Khartum lies in the pathway of our Empire, and has a

population of about three millions, all of whom are uneducated. Such an institution would be of inestimable value to the Sudan and to Africa. The first stages of education would be elementary, but gradually rising to subjects useful and technical, suited to the religion, habits, and requirements of the country. The principal teachers would be British, and the supervision vested in the Governor-General of the Sudan. The sum required is £100,000, of which £10,000 would be appropriated for initial outlay, the rest for an endowment to afford, in the first instance, free education and the payment of an efficient staff of teachers. The Queen consented to become patron of this highly important movement, and the Prince of Wales vice-patron. The scheme has received the cordial approval of the Government, as well as Lord Rosebery. Lord Kitchener appealed to the wealthy classes of England to contribute the amount. Lord Hillingdon is treasurer, and the Hon. George Peel secretary, to whom all communications ought to be addressed, at 67, Lombard Street, London, E.C. The proposal met with enthusiasm over the whole of Great Britain, and the full sum of £100,000 has been obtained. Additional contributions should be sent to Messrs. Glyn, Mills, Currie and Co., bankers, 67, Lombard Street, London, E.C., to the credit of the GORDON MEMORIAL COLLEGE OF KHARTUM.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA CHARTER.

The principal provisions of the Order in Council of 20th October last as referred to in our summary, are as follows :

- (1) The Company shall appoint the Administrator and pay his salary, and the salaries of such other officers as may be required, subject, however, in regard to appointment to the approval of the Secretary of State.
- (2) The Secretary of State may appoint a Resident Commissioner whose salary shall be paid out of the British Treasury.
- (3) An Executive Council is to be instituted to assist the Administrator, consisting of the Resident Commissioner, and four members appointed by the Company, with the approval of the Secretary of State.
- (4) A Legislative Body is to be established consisting of the Administrator, the Resident Commissioner, and nine other members, five of whom are to be appointed by the Company, with the approval of the Secretary of State, and four to be elected by the registered voters.
- (5) The Military Force is to remain under the direct control and authority of the High Commissioner.
- (6) The Administrative Power is to be limited by the Judicial institutions, and hence a Court of Record is to be established having jurisdiction over civil and criminal cases, due regard being had to native law and custom.

OUSELEY SCHOLARSHIPS, IMPERIAL INSTITUTE.

We have the pleasure of announcing that scholarships of £50 per annum will be given in July next to students of the school for modern Oriental studies established by the Imperial Institute. These scholarships have been instituted, in memory of the late Colonel Jasper W. J. Ouseley, for proficiency in Arabic, Persian, Hindustani, and other Oriental languages.

For this year there will be a scholarship for Arabic, another for Persian, and a third for Sanskrit. A scholarship is tenable for two years, but may be extended, in special cases, to three years. The age of candidates is above 17 years and under 25, on 1st of January of the year of examination. A native of India is excluded from competition for a scholarship in a language of his native tongue, or a language allied to it. Candidates intending to compete this year must give notice before the 1st of July next to Sir Frederick A. Abel, Bart., Hon. Secretary and Director of the Imperial Institute, from whom all particulars may be obtained. We trust these important scholarships will be widely taken advantage of, specially by Europeans, and also of the School of Modern Studies established in 1890, in co-operation with the Councils of University and King's Colleges, and thus realize the expectations of the founders, as expressed by the Prince of Wales, as an "invaluable assistance to those who are, by their future services, to contribute to a wise and prosperous government of the Indian Empire."

CANADA—THE PROJECTED NEW CANAL.

Mr. McLeod Stewart, an ex-Mayor of Ottawa, has proposed a new canal whereby the produce surrounding the regions of the great lakes of Canada may be cheaply and quickly transported to the sea-board, and thence to English ports. The proposed "Montreal, Ottawa, and Georgian Bay Canal" passes through some of the richest agricultural and lumber regions of Canada, and has engaged the attention of the recent Governor-General, Lord Aberdeen, as a member of the Parliamentary Committee of the Manchester Ship Canal, who considers that such a waterway would be of great benefit to the two countries.

THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

AGRICULTURAL BANKS IN INDIA.

The Council of this Association, on 14th December, 1898, passed the following important Resolution :

"The Council have carefully considered the question of Agricultural Banks, and are of opinion that it is most desirable, in the interests of the agricultural population, that some such scheme of a practical, workable, and commercially sound character should be started in India, but they consider that it should be initiated by men of local knowledge and authority supported by native capital."

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

GEORGE ALLEN, CHARING CROSS ROAD, LONDON.

1. *The Literary Year Book*, 1898. Edited by JOSEPH JACOBS. The editor, with much industry and skill, has produced, in a concise form valuable information, specially to new authors, with respect to publishers, booksellers and printers. The work contains useful lists of the principal public libraries and scientific and literary institutions in the United Kingdom, reviews, magazines, and their specialities in reference to literary subjects, and minor details. Mr. Jacobs has succeeded in producing an interesting and useful volume for all engaged in English literature.

2. *The Bible References of John Ruskin*, by MARY and ELLEN GIBBS. The authoresses have done well in gathering together the many references to passages in the Bible in the various works of Mr. Ruskin. His extensive knowledge, his love of art, and his incisive criticism give a value to every comment or allusion he makes to Sacred Writ. The root and foundation of his scriptural knowledge are both instructive and interesting. He says, "I owe to my mother for the resolutely consistent lessons which so exercised me in the Scriptures as to make every word of them familiar to my ear in habitual music,—yet in that familiarity revered, as transcending all thought, and ordaining all conduct." For speedy reference, the subjects criticized are arranged alphabetically, and in an Appendix there is the order of the Books, from which passages have been quoted and commented upon. The work is very valuable to the reader of the Sacred Volume, and especially to those who have to illustrate and expound it.

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

3. *Wright's Arabic Grammar*, third edition, revised (with additions and corrections) by W. ROBERTSON SMITH and M. J. DE GOEJE. Vol. II. 1898.

In previous issues of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* (see October, 1896, and January, 1897) notices have appeared of volume i. of this edition; we have now the pleasure to notice volume ii. of this important work.

This, the concluding volume of the lamented Dr. Wright's great contribution to Arabic studies, deals with the intricate subject of the Syntax. It takes up, first, the Syntax of the Verb; then, the Syntax of the Noun; and, finally, the Syntax of the Sentence. It deals also with the highly complex subject of Arabic Prosody; and under this head come all the different methods of the Poetry of the Arabs. At the end of this volume we have a series of full and minute Indexes, three in number. They are classified Indexes, and the references are to the first volume as well as to the second. These indexes are very carefully compiled and are of great value—embracing, as they do, every important detail of this extensive work; and by the aid of them the student is able, with the minimum expenditure of time, to find every point with which the Grammar deals.

The section-marking of volume ii. is not continuous with that of volume i., the sections in each volume begin from "section i." onwards: in this volume there are 253 sections. The volume contains 450 pages, of which the indexes occupy about sixty. The value of the work to the student of Arabic is greatly enhanced by the footnotes that have been incorporated by Prof. de Goeje and the late Prof. Robertson Smith—names which are a guarantee for thoroughness of knowledge and soundness of teaching. The high workmanship exhibited in the letter-press is the same as that exhibited in the first edition of the work, and well maintains the reputation of the press from which it issues. The vowel-pointing of the Arabic sentences is given throughout the work—a feature that makes the work larger than it would otherwise have been; but the advantage to the student and to the critic will be great enough to compensate for this. The system by which throughout the work the paragraphs are indicated is highly elaborate and renders reference easy, pleasant, and effective: in a work of such magnitude and of such complicated nature this feature is one which it is not easy to over-prize. At the beginning of the volume there is a list of "Addenda et Corrigenda," from which it appears that the press-errors are surprisingly few—the list consisting mainly of additional remarks and modifications which, when we come to examine them, are found to be of real value as elucidative of the places to which they refer. This edition of the work well sustains the well-known reputation of the first; and it will be of lasting service to English-speaking people in Persia, Arabia, India, Turkey, Egypt, and other lands in which Arabic is used for professional and business purposes, and as a passport to the society of the learned. It will be of use, however, not only to those who require Arabic as a spoken language, but also to those who need it for literary purposes—the philologist, the theologian, and students of the Shemitish languages generally. The work exhibits a thoroughness of scholarship, an abundance and accuracy of illustration and example, and an extensiveness of quotation of the native Arabian authorities that constitute a guarantee of the usefulness of the work and a pledge of its permanency. It is not a work for the tourist or occasional visitor, but for the study, leading on to a more recondite and comprehensive acquaintance with the language. With Wright's Grammar and with the admirable Lexicon of Edward William Lane, the study of this beautiful language—the Italian of the East—is placed, for English students, on a higher platform than it occupied before the appearance of such works. B.

PRINTED AT THE CHISWICK PRESS, LONDON.

4. *From Cæsar to Sultan, being Notes from Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," made by His Highness Syaji Rao Gaekwar, Maharaja of Baroda, G.C.S.I.*

It is a gratifying sign of the times to find a native Indian prince devoting his leisure to English literature. The progress which the native feudatory states are making under English supervision is one of the results of British rule in India, and there are many signs that princes, as well as people, participate in this progress. The various Rajkumar colleges for training

the sons of feudatory chiefs are already bearing good fruit, and exhibit further promise for the future. Prince Ranjitsinghji, so well-known as a cricketer, has shown by his book on cricket that he can wield the pen as well as the bat. Another native chief, the Rahore of Gondal, has published a historical work on Indian medicine, giving the English reader an account of native healing art. A Panjab chief published the notes of his tour through Europe, giving the views of an educated Indian prince on European manners and institutions. These three works have recently appeared, and now a fourth Indian prince—the Maharaja of Baroda—has joined the ranks of English authors. During his minority he had the good fortune to be put under excellent guidance, by which he has been enabled to carry out numerous reforms in his State.

The Maharaja's education has been mainly literary, and has therefore induced him to take a deep interest in the promotion of knowledge and to patronize men of letters and science. The establishment of the College and the Technical Institute in his capital city, the endowment of a chair of Indian pharmacology in Bombay, the republication of the almost forgotten literary masterpieces of former days in the Gujarati and Mahratti languages, the series of translations into these languages of some of the best English historical, philosophical, and scientific books, all prove his great zeal for the spread of knowledge among the natives of India, and especially among his own people. But not content with merely patronizing literature, he is actively engaged in studying English literature for himself, and endeavouring to impart the result of his research to his countrymen, and as an introduction he has produced his notes on the *History of Gibbon*. They embody an admirable analysis and condensation of that well-known work. As an example, we may quote his summary of Gibbon's famous chapter on Christianity :

"The first Christians were, for the most part, mean and ignorant, though there were some exceptions with regard to learning, and rank, and fortune; but we must remember that the Apostles themselves were chosen by Providence from among the fishermen of Galilee, and that the lower was the conditions of the past Christians, the more reason is there to admire their merit and success. The kingdom of heaven was promised to the poor in spirit, and minds afflicted by calamity cheerfully listen to the Divine promise of future happiness; while the fortunate are satisfied with possession of this world, and the wise abuse in doubt, and dispute their vain superiority of reason and knowledge" (p. 48).

We hope this handsome volume will yet be published in a popular form for wider use. The late Sir W. Smith's *Student's Gibbon* is the chief epitome of the *Decline and Fall*, but this present work is in some respects superior to it, being more compact, and restricting itself more closely to the main objects of the work, and will prove a very useful companion by the side of Gibbon's History. We would also suggest that this admirable work be translated into Gujarati, Mahratti, and Urdu, as there are very few works in these languages on mediæval European history.—R. P. KARKARIA.

CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE SOCIETY.

5. *A Modern Pilgrim in Jerusalem*, by JOHN ROOKER, M.A. Second edition. The author gives a pleasing and interesting account of his visit

to Jerusalem, Bethany, Bethlehem, the Dead Sea, and the Jordan, with lovely illustrations of the Porter at Jerusalem, David's Well, the Damascus Gate, and other places.

CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY; LONDON.

6. *Japan and the Japan Mission.* This is a new edition, with map and illustrations, of the history of the work of the agents of the Church Missionary Society. It describes the country, the political changes, the liberal and tolerant policy of the present Government, and hopeful progress in the future.

VOL. IV. OF THE "OXFORD ENGLISH DICTIONARY."

CLARENDON PRESS; OXFORD, LONDON, EDINBURGH, NEW YORK.

7. *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles, founded mainly on the Materials collected by the "Philological Society,"* edited by DR. JAMES A. H. MURRAY, with the assistance of many scholars and men of science.

Section Gaincope—Germanizing. By HENRY BRADLEY, HON. M.A., OXON. We have had the pleasure of referring to the excellence and importance of this magnificent work in our issues of January and April, 1898 (see pp. 191 and 435). The present section contains 1,971 words, 516 combinations, and 675 subordinate entries; in all 3,162. Of the main words 1,543 are current and native or fully naturalized, 371 are obsolete, and 54 are marked as alien or not fully naturalized. To show the copiousness of the work, it contains explanations of 3,666 words in the area in which Johnson has 344,—2,857 illustrated by quotations, as against 266 in Johnson, and 13,520 illustrative quotations, as against 786; and 1,070 in Richardson's. It contains the Japanese word *geisha*, so recently introduced into the English; *galingale* and *garble* from the Arabic; and *gambier* and *gecko* from Malay. The word *game* occupies seven columns, *gate* a similar space, and *gauge* five columns. Under the term *Gazette* there is the following interesting information: "The first official journal published in England was the *Oxford Gazette*, the first number of which appeared in November, 1665, when the Court was at Oxford on account of the plague. Nos. 22 and 23 were printed in London, and with No. 24 the title was changed to the *London Gazette*. The *Edinburgh Gazette* was first issued in 1690, the *Dublin Gazette* in 1705." As we have observed before, this "Dictionary is a History of English speech and thought from its infancy to the present day."

LIBRAIRIE HACHETTE ET CIE.; PARIS, 1898.

8. *La Corée, indépendante, Russe, ou Japonaise*, par R. VILLETARD DE LAGUÉRIE. This volume is a geographical, historical, and political treatise on Korea, which comes to hand at an opportune time. The author, who was in the Far East during and after the Chino-Japanese war, describes the degradation of the population, the miseries and impotence of the government of "the last virgin soil of the globe," i.e., Korea, or "the land of the serene morning." The book is divided into four parts. Part first tells us of the conquest of the country by Japan, of the causes of the

insurrection in 1894, about the Royal family, and Korea's situation between Japan and China, and Japanese rights over Korea. Part two gives a description of the country. Part three presents us with the state of affairs before the Japanese occupation. And part four deals with the Japanese policy in Korea. In conclusion the author discusses, and gives us his opinion on, the Far Eastern question. There are 50 illustrations.

HURST AND BLACKETT; LONDON.

9. *Pioneering in Formosa*, by W. A. PICKERING, C.M.G. Viewed simply as a narrative of "Adventures among Mandarins, Wreckers, and Head-hunting Savages," Mr. Pickering's book will be found sufficiently interesting to commend itself to the general reader on this ground alone. Yet it would be a mistake to regard it as a narrative and nothing more. The author, at any rate, does not limit himself thus narrowly; he supplies us, besides, with clear and comprehensive descriptions of the physical features, the history and political status, and the various civilized and uncivilized inhabitants of the "Beautiful Island." But over and above this, in a series of extracts from various journals and magazines, which he has included as an appendix to the book, he explicitly sets forth his views on the main aspects of the "Chinese Problem," to the vital importance of which he wishes to call public attention at home, and on which he is qualified to speak with authority in virtue of his exceptional knowledge of all that pertains to China and the Chinese. On the whole, this may fairly claim to be the best account of Formosa under Mandarin rule that has appeared hitherto; following, as it does, on a long series of books and articles written by competent observers in recent years, it should finally dispel the lamentable ignorance that still hampers our policy in China and the Far East. The book is handsomely bound and well printed, and contains numerous illustrations. G.

LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.; LONDON.

10. *Modern Mythology*, by ANDREW LANG. The pages which follow cannot but seem wandering and desultory, for they are a reply to a book, Mr. Max Müller's *Contributions to the Science of Mythology*, in which the attack is of a skirmishing character. The ordinary reader will endorse Mr. Andrew Lang's opinion, and regret that he did not devote his time to writing some further brilliant criticism of so-called philological mythology instead of a somewhat laboured and detailed defence of a position that no one nowadays wishes, in its general outlines at least, to assail. It is possible, no doubt, that in some cases an original verbal confession underlies strange mythological stories, but who would seriously argue at the present day for the solar myth exploration of the tale of Troy, or describe mythology as a disease of language. Presumably it is only out of deference to Prof. Max Müller's eminent position and reputation that Mr. Lang has taken the pains to argue with him in so grave and matter-of-fact a position. But the result is not very readable, while the volume contains no contributions to anthropology of any particular value.

SAMPSON LOW, MARSTON AND CO. ; LONDON.

11. *Hausaland, or Fifteen Hundred Miles through the Central Soudan*, by the Rev. C. H. ROBINSON, M.A., Ripon Diocesan Missioner, and lecturer in Hausa in the University of Cambridge. (New edition.) This is a new edition of a book published some 22 years ago, and will prove exceedingly interesting at this time, when our attention is so much drawn to West African affairs. The author describes his journey from Akassa to Kano and back in the form of a diary, and tells us how the king or chief of every village where the traveller may stay expects a present, otherwise his reception is ungracious and often insulting. Hausaland is composed of the following states—Sokoto, Gando Gober, Kano, Kwontagora, Zaria, Katsena, Yakubu and Adamawa which are tributary to either Sokoto or Gando. The rulers of these states are of a different race altogether from the people, and are Fulahs. They are distinguished by their lighter skin and less woolly hair, and are a shrewd and intriguing race of soldiers, whilst the Hausas are a quiet commercial people, and in great demand as soldiers or carriers, both by the English and French as well as the Belgian and German authorities in West Africa. The Hausas are both intellectually and physically superior to all the other natives of Equatorial Africa. One-third of them are Muhammadans, and their language is spoken by fifteen millions of people. Hausaland extends from about Lat. 80° N. to 140° N., and from Long. 4° E. to 11° E. The author says that the country may appropriately be called "Central Soudan." Much information is given of slavery and slave-raiding. A good map accompanies the volume.

12. *The Invasion of Egypt in A.D. 1249 by Louis IX. of France and a History of the Contemporary Sultans of Egypt*, by the Rev. E. I. DAVIS, M.A., chaplain of St. Mark's, Alexandria. The author gives an interesting account of the object of the King of France invading Egypt, the position of the Sultans in those days, and the several sections into which the followers of Mahomet were divided. Considering the position of the country at the present time, its protectors, and the attitude of France, the work cannot fail to be perused with pleasure.

13. *Contributions to the Early History of New Zealand (Settlement of Otago)*, by T. M. HOCKEN, M.R.C.S., ENG., F.L.S., member of the Otago University Council. In this volume the author has succeeded in recording many old events in the early history of the colony which have never till now been told, and which would otherwise have passed into the limbo of oblivion. In compiling his history he has incorporated, as he acknowledges, information from numerous "old identities," amongst whom may be mentioned Sir Richard Nicholson, Captain Symonds, the Rev. J. F. H. Wohlers, and others. The book treats mainly of Otago, and gives its history from the year 1845 to the present time. It is a useful book, and contains many illustrations and maps.

14. *History of European Botanical Discoveries in China*, by E. BRETSCHEIDER, M.D., Late Physician to the Russian Legation at Peking, etc. (Printed at the Imperial Russian Academy of Sciences' Press, St. Petersburg.) Dr. Bretschneider, who during the past thirty years has done as much solid and honest work in the field of sinology as any European, has

now completed what may be termed without exaggeration the labour of his life, contained in two quarto volumes of over 1,100 pages. From its title one might conclude that it was a purely botanical work; but even a cursory inspection shows that it is, as well, a geographical record of the highest order, giving accounts of all the travels which have been performed by Europeans in the Chinese Empire and its vassal states, including in this last term (which is taken in its broadest sense) Corea, Indo-China, the Philippines, Central Asia, Turkestan, Tibet, etc. It might even be said that it is a biography as well, for an account is given of no fewer than 700 persons who have travelled in China, beginning with Marco Polo, and carried down to consular or customs officers and missionaries of all nationalities as lately as the past three years. The amount of geographical and personal information alone is thus very vast, apart from the commercial and economic value of the book, which may be gauged from the fact that the second index gives nearly 8,000 names of plants, notwithstanding that only such plants (and their literature) are recorded as have been *for the first time discovered in China* or her vassal states. A great many *documents inédits* and hitherto unpublished papers have been utilized in compiling this work, which may fairly be ranked amongst the great achievements of the century in regard to oriental knowledge, and one quite indispensable alike to merchant and scholar in the Far East.

Of course it is desirable that the book should be utilized in connection with Dr. Bretschneider's admirable map of China, reported upon in our issue of July, 1896; and in this connection it may be mentioned that he has now published (Messrs. Stanford, Cockspur Street, London) a further set of five supplementary maps, adapted to the text of the great work now under notice, upon which readers can easily trace most of the itineraries mentioned. These supplementary maps cover (1) Part of Northern Chih-Li, (2) the mountains west of Peking, (3) Mid-China and the Yang-tsze River (two sheets), (4) the Great Rivers of the Canton Province, and (5) parts of Yün-Nan Province.

E. H. P.

LUZAC AND CO.; LONDON, 1898.

15. *Hebrew Grammar*, by REV. J. D. WYNKOOP, Amsterdam. Considering the size of the book and its scope, we have nothing but praise for the Rev. Wynkoop's Manual of Hebrew Grammar. It is clear and concise: the rules are very intelligible, and the examples are telling. In parts the work is even of an advanced character, and forms a good introduction to larger works on the subject. It is a great advantage to have everywhere throughout the book, in addition to the ordinary grammatical expressions, their Hebrew equivalents added. The Conjugations are presented in an attractive manner, and the Appendices give valuable information. We hope the remark will not be taken amiss, that though the translation of terms such as עבד, עתיר, etc., are given on p. 23, their meaning ought to have been repeated at least the first time the verb is conjugated, pp. 28-34, so that the reader might gradually accustom himself to them as he goes along. But, again, we heartily recommend Mr. Wynkoop's Manual, and congratulate Messrs. Luzac on the style of its production.

16. *Essays, Linguistic and Oriental*, 2 vols., by ROBERT NEEDHAM CUST, LL.D. ; 1898. In two handsome volumes of nearly eleven hundred pages Dr. Cust publishes some of his contributions to periodical literature during sixty years. In the two volumes the articles number, in all, a hundred and seventy-eight ; and the quite unusual versatility of the writer is shown in the great variety of the subjects with which he deals. Though Dr. Cust is a distinguished Orientalist, his essays are not all of them on Oriental subjects ; and though he is a distinguished linguist, many of his Essays have nothing to do with languages : social questions, and questions historical, ethnological, and religious, figure also, and that largely, in these volumes.

How this literary veteran came to publish these volumes may best be told in his own words. "It so happened," says he (writing in February last), "that last year I took stock of my published books, contributions to periodicals, and printed matter of every kind ; and I found that up to the end of 1897 the number of them exceeded twelve hundred,—the earliest dating as far back as 1840,—and the number of periodicals contributed to exceeded seventy. Some of these scattered effusions I have been tempted to bring together, and to reprint them. The composition of some of them cost me days, if not years, of labour, and they may be of use to students and scholars of the next generation to criticize honestly, condemn stupidly, or make use of." Elsewhere he says : "Some of the manuscript writings in prose and verse which have come out of my chests, date back to 1837, and even earlier ; so my pen has been going during the sixty years of Her Majesty's reign, and promises to go on still." Our courageous author is now far on in his seventy-eighth year ; and considering that for a great many years he served as an officer in Her Majesty's Indian Civil Service, retiring as long ago as 1867, the continuance of his faculty for writing in the public press speaks marvels for his physical powers, for his nerve energy, and for his intellectual resource. In the name of Indian veterans, Orientalists, and literary men generally, we venture to offer him our congratulations.

Dr. Cust has acted wisely, as we believe, in thus republishing these miscellanea in book-form. In doing so he has rendered a public duty, has served the cause of learning and literature, and has placed future generations under obligations. A careful glance down the list of his subjects, and a quiet look through the volumes, will satisfy anyone of this. "Good wine needs no bush." Dr. Cust is well-known to all learned societies, to all publicists, and to all readers of Oriental research ; and his mere name is a sufficient guarantee for industrious and fruitful labour. It is not too much to say that some of the best writing of the century lies stowed away in the files of the periodical press ; for the responsible editors of such prints must needs be impressed with the value of contributions before they would consent to purchase or to publish them. Of course there are exceptions. Dr. Cust is a free lance with his pen, and his rule has been to give freely of the abundance which he freely received : *his contributions were not remunerated.*

Some of Dr. Cust's writings are of a more or less religious nature, and

in nearly all of them he takes occasion to touch upon the subject of religion. The *Asiatic Quarterly Review* is not a religious publication, nor is the discussion of religious subjects permitted in its pages. To this element in his work, therefore, we cannot afford space for more than the merest notice. We would not, however, have Dr. Cust construe our silence as consent; indeed, such is his known liberality and fairness in this great matter, that we feel sure he will not expect his fellow-men to accept without inquiry or demur all the opinions he expresses in these volumes on that subject. Further than this we will not go.

Taking the work as a whole, it shows great public-spiritedness. The indefatigable author has kept himself thoroughly in touch with the pulse of his time; and he has espoused every great public question and identified himself with all its best activities. The history of such a man is in some sense the history of the age in which he has lived; and in the present instance it is the history of the age of the most faultless of England's monarchs. If we may except the splendid work of Mons. Dubois, recently noticed in our columns, we know of no better work than this of Dr. Cust's to place in the hands of young Englishmen whose lot is cast in our great Dependency in the East. B.

17. The *Ummagga Jātaka*, or "Story of the Tunnel," by T. B. YATARA, Ceylon. This work is a translation into English of the above-named story, from the language in which it was originally written,—the Sinhalese, the leading one among the several vernacular languages spoken in the island of Ceylon. To convey an idea of the nature of the work one can hardly do better than quote from the translator himself. The work, he tells us in his Preface, "recounts the story of a Birth of Buddha in one of his previous lives, of which as many as five hundred and fifty are recorded in the Jātakas. Prof. Rhys Davids, in his *Buddhist Birth Stories*, has so ably introduced the Jātakas to the English reader that it would be presumption on my part to attempt to go over the same ground. Suffice it therefore to say that this volume contains the account of the Birth of the Bodhisatwa, which is the last Birth but one related in the Jātakas. I have," he goes on, "selected the Sinhalese version for translation in preference to the Pāli story because of the high position the former holds among Sinhalese classics, and because of the consummate beauty of its style and language. Its wide popularity is principally due to the charm of the language used, which no translation can reproduce, and to the human interest of the story itself. It is to be regretted that the author of this popular version cannot be identified with any degree of certainty; tradition, however, commonly attributes the work to a learned Buddhist priest from Tanjore, who is said to have composed it during the reign of Prakrama Bahu IV. (1308—1347) with the assistance of the supreme minister Wirasinha Patiraja, and at the request of the good minister Parakrama. From internal evidence, as supplied by the very large number of Tamil words occurring in the translation, we are justified in assigning to the author, if not a Dravidian descent, at all events a very intimate knowledge of Tamil." Proceeding, he says,—“I have already spoken of the human interest of the story. Few Eastern tales, indeed, delineate human

nature in all its phases with such fulness and fidelity. The vivid picture which the story presents of the customs and manners and institutions of the India of a bygone age is worthy of special notice. It is also interesting to note the striking similarity of the story of the two mothers who claimed the same child, as related in this Játaka, with Solomon's judgment."

This extract will serve to show the nature of the work now placed before the public. The Sinhalese text from which the present translation has been made is that in the edition of Pandit Batuwantudawe, which was published by the Government of Ceylon in 1874. The work is very beautifully printed in some 240 pages, and is a translation of the entire Játaka; and it is dedicated "by permission" to Prof. Max Müller. It is not a book to go to for historical information regarding Buddhism, nor does it contain anything of a controversial nature; from beginning to end it is simply the Ummagga Játaka done into English. The stories will be very helpful to English people desirous of obtaining an insight into the nature and teachings of Buddhism. B.

18. *Bouddhisme, Etudes et Matériaux. Adikarmapradīpa Bodhicaryāvatāratikā.* Par LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, Professeur à l'université de Gand. This work by Professor Poussin, of the University of Ghent, begins with a protest against the generally received view of the origin of Buddhism, founded on the voluminous literature of the Southern Buddhists of Ceylon. So much of this literature has been made known to us by the labours of Pali scholars that it has become customary to regard the Sinhalese Buddhism—the Hīnayāna or Lesser Vehicle—as the orthodox creed, and Northern Buddhism—the Mahāyāna or Greater Vehicle—as a mere crude mass of heretical opinions. But the Mahāyāna according to Professor Poussin represents the genuine original popular Buddhism, while the Hīnayāna in spite of Pali scholars—"les palisans," as he calls them—is an artificial system consciously elaborated by cloistered ascetics, who used their abundant leisure to construct a philosophical creed. They produced an atheistic system, under which man works out his own salvation not by the aid of higher powers, but by a purely subjective process of mental discipline. The Mahāyāna on the contrary is a spontaneous natural religion. It acknowledges a divine element. Buddha is not a dead abstraction, but a living God. Amitābha, Avalokita and the Bodhisatvas generally are protecting powers to whom worship is due. The popular Buddhism thus regarded is in fact a syncretism of many forms of Hinduism, and is in close connection with the doctrines of the Upanishads and other Hindu Scriptures. Much of this is not new, but it is here brought together focussed and illustrated in a very striking and brilliant manner. The attack on the Pali Scriptures, however, will shock "les palisans," and in the absence of definite historical or other evidence, it is difficult to defend or support Professor Poussin's views. They are, in fact, rather vaguely stated, and are more calculated to attract by an epigrammatic terseness and brilliance of style than to convince by weight of solid argument. The repulsive Tantric texts are the subject of a more extended review than they deserve, and perhaps their importance in relation to Northern Buddhism is overrated, while too high an antiquity is assigned to them. At any rate

before the author's views attain to general acceptance by scholars, if they ever do, and before the *Lalita Vistara* and the *Saddharmapundarikā* supersede the *Tripitaka* as the leading authority for Buddhism, it will be necessary to establish the case for the *Maháyāna* by a far more searching and exact investigation of the available facts than is contained in the work under notice. On the one hand there were undoubtedly Scriptures of some sort, whose teaching is in the main analogous to, and the foundation of that of the Three Baskets, in existence as early as the fourth century B.C. On the other hand, the *Maháyāna*, it may be safely asserted, was not the creation of Kanishka and his Council any more than Christianity was the creation of Constantine and the Council of Nicæa. Kanishka's Council merely formulated and adopted ideas which had been in existence for a long time—perhaps for centuries. But which of the two—*Hináyāna* or *Maháyāna*—is the original faith of Buddha, and which is a pestilent heresy, is a question which the present work merely raises and cannot in any way be said to decide.

The two Sanskrit texts which are appended to the Essays are valuable and important, and Professor Poussin has done good service by his careful editing and analysis of their contents.

JOHN BEAMES.

MACMILLAN AND CO. ; LONDON, 1898.

19. *Translations of the Rubaiyât of Omar Khayyâm*, edited by N. H. Dole. This book is a most elaborate compilation of translations of the "*Rubaiyât*" of Omar Khayyâm in English, French, German, Italian and Danish, arranged in accordance with the text of E. Fitzgerald's version, illustrated, with notes, etc. It has been simultaneously issued at Boston, and is in reality an American production. One of the translations made use of in this compilation is that by Garner, reviewed in this number of the *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*. Others are those of Whinfield in English prose, McCarthy in English, and Nicolas in French prose, and those of Bodenstedt and Von Schack in German verse. The appendices also contain portions of translations in Italian and Danish, and in German by Von Hammer Purgstall, with notices by Professor Norton of Boston, Whitley Stokes, etc. It even includes biographies or sketches of the various other translators whose names are mentioned. It is altogether too ponderous a publication to be reviewed in detail in the small space we have at our disposal, but as a compilation it may serve a useful purpose to those who have the curiosity to examine how different translators translate the same original Persian, or rather in many instances do not translate it, but eke out their own rhymes with what they consider were or ought to have been the ideas of the poet. Some instances of this are given in our review of Garner's translation, and others were quoted in an article published on the 26th February last in *Literature*. With the writer of that article we entirely concur in his opinion that the so-called translations or paraphrases in no way improve upon Khayyâm's original conceptions, if they do not occasionally mar them. A literal metrical translation into English, just as pleasing as those already published, is in our opinion perfectly feasible, and will, we hope, be some day published.

A. R.

G. BELL AND SONS; LONDON.

20. *The Stanzas of Omar Khayyám*, translated from the Persian by J. L. GARNER, 2nd edition. After the standard paraphrase of Omar Khayyám's Quatrains by Fitzgerald, and the numerous other translations that have since been issued, it is surprising that a version such as this should have reached a second edition. It is, in the first place, by no means complete, and in the next omits some of the most characteristic examples of the author's philosophy. In addition to this, the translation itself is not only frequently so free as to miss Khayyám's own point, but it is also extremely faulty. Americanisms such as would not be admissible in an English translator's work are not wanting, and the rhythm of the lines themselves occasionally halts in an unpleasant manner. Of the former of these blemishes, we notice in two places that *vase* is made to rhyme with *face*, *embrace*, *base*, and *efface*. Of the latter, the following are examples :

Upon this checkerboard of joys and woes	...	...	10 syllables.
The wretched puppet hither and thither goes	...	...	11 „
Until the mighty Player of the skies	...	...	10 „
His plaything back in the casket throws	...	...	9 „
Until a whisper reached us from the waste	...	...	10 „
From the dust I came, and into the wind I went	...	...	12 „
And leaving life's problems all unsolved	...	...	9 „
Our hearts harassed with doubt, we go our way	...	...	10 „

Of translations we give the following :

A book, a flask of wine, a crust of bread,
To every care and worldly sorrow dead,
I covet not when thou, O Love, art near,
The jewelled turban on the sultan's head.

Literal Translation.

A book of verse, some red wine I desire,
For bare subsistence half a loaf require.
In desert seat with thee to sit would be
More fair than Sultan's realm to my desire.

* * * * *

When I am dead, my body wash with wine,
Sing o'er my tomb a lyric of the vine,
And when the day of resurrection dawns,
Commingled with the tavern's dust, seek mine.

Literal Translation.

Wash me with pure wine when in death I lie:
Of wine and wine-cup tell tales by and bye:
If at the Judgment you wish me to find,
Look 'neath the inn-door, where in dust I lie.

* * * * *

'Tis said there is a place where houris throng,
Where we shall drink, and list to lute and song;
If Paradise such pleasures holds for us,
To love the like on earth, in what the wrong?

Literal Translation.

Fountains, they say, and *Hûris* there'll in Eden be ;
 Pure wine and honey, too, will flow for thee :
 To worship wine and mistress I am right,
 Since in the end there'll be the same for me.

* * * * *

The month of Ramazan has passed away,
 And Shawwal comes with joy to lord the day,
 The vintner, bent beneath the wine-skin's weight,
 Lustily sings upon his errand gay.

Literal Translation.

Shavâl has come ; Ramzân has passed away :
 The time has come for singers, pleasure, play ;
 The time has come when, water-bag on back,
 " Back, back, hold back," the porters cry and say.

* * * * *

There appears no necessity for quoting further examples of the unreliability of these translations; those quoted above are taken entirely at random, and show, in our opinion, a most unusual and unwarrantable use of the so-called poetic license. To conclude. The notes to the book are untrustworthy. For instance,

" 23. Mehrab, a chair placed in mosques, and always turned towards the East."

The Mehrab is in reality a recess in a mosque, which always points towards Mecca, be that East or West, towards which the people turn in prayer.

" 11. From Mah to Mahi, from fish to moon, *i.e.*, between the fish which supports the bull, that, according to Persian cosmogony, bears the earth on one of his horns, and the moon ; the saying, which is equivalent to the expression 'everything in the universe,' is common with the Iranians."

It really means from the full moon, Máh, to the crescent new moon, Máhi, when the moon is in the shape of a fish, and, signifying the whole period from completion to renewal after waning, is a synonym for universal time.

A. R.

J. MASSON : PARIS.

21. *Les Aryens au Nord et au Sud de l'Hindou-Kouch*, par CHARLES DE UJFALVY. This is a remarkable volume on the subject of a very remarkable Region by a very competent author, based on personal experience. It is divided into: I. Introduction: A. Geographical and Historical; B. Ethnological. II. Part I.: The Aryans on the north of the Hindu-Kúsh; nine chapters. III. Part II.: The Aryans on the south of the Hindu-Kúsh; ten chapters. The whole is preceded by a short Preface. The author has got beyond the old idea of an Aryan *Race*; he lays great stress on Anthropology, which records the physical features of man, and he hazards the bold prophecy that, when the student is in possession of the means of making a microscopic study of the brain, it will be possible to discover the causes which led particular tribes to speak Monosyllabic, Agglutinative, or Flectional forms of speech. The assertion is a bold one.

but in my lifetime I have witnessed such strange discoveries, that I venture on no opinion, but, as in other branches of study, wait for proofs. He also records his opinion that the tribes to the north of the Hindu-Kúsh, and those to the south, are only by mere convention dignified with the common name of Aryan, and are of a totally different type from each other.

The author has paid personal visits to both sides of the Hindu-Kúsh, and in 1884 published at Leipzig a book entitled "Aus dem westlichen Himalaya" in the German language, which was highly appreciated, as our acquaintance with those Regions was much less than it is now. And we are informed in the Preface that these pages were written between the years 1884 and 1887, though revised up to the present date.

The author has had access to the published works of Khanikoff, Wood, Ratzel, Bogdanoff, Yule, Tomashek, Bonvalot, Capus, Shaw, Leitner, Biddulph, Drew, Robertson, Van der Gheye, Giraud de Rialle, Raverty, Bellew, and it gives an additional value to his own opinions, when we gather from his quotations how far he differs from, or agrees with, other experienced writers on the subject of the inhabitants of these Regions, their Ethnology and Language.

I place on record the names of the different Regions or tribes, or Languages, noticed :

Part I. : Region north of the Hindu-Kúsh : (1) Tajik ; (2) Galtcha ; (3) Karatéghin ; (4) Darwázi ; (5) Yajnábi ; (6) Káshgari ; (7) Sart.

Part II. : Region south of the Hindu-Kúsh : (1) Dard ; (2) Burick or Yechkun ; (3) Hunza ; (4) Yassin and Nagher ; (5) Kho or Chitráli ; (6) Balti ; (7) Kafir or Siyah Posh, or Bashgáli.

A great many other names appear in the pages of this book. There is an Ethnographical Map.

Questions of Anthropology, Language, and Religion are freely and impartially discussed, and although the words uttered by the author are by no means *the last ones* to be uttered on this new and complicated subject, all students of the Region will be grateful for this contribution to knowledge.

ROBERT N. CUST.

METHUEN AND CO. ; LONDON.

22. *The Downfall of Prempeh : A Diary of Life with the Native Levy in Ashanti*, 1895-6, by MAJOR R. S. S. BADEN-POWELL. With the pen of a ready writer, good humour, and a soldier's dash, Major Baden-Powell has produced a very readable book on the late expedition on the Gold Coast, when by prompt action Coomassie was taken and the King and Chiefs made prisoners. The horrible atrocities in human sacrifices and slave-raiding, and the gruesome "grove of skulls" found by our soldiers, can scarcely be imagined. The book is full of illustrations, and is accompanied with a valuable statement by Sir George Baden-Powell, M.P., on the political and commercial position and wealth of Ashanti, whose inhabitants, numbering about 5,000,000, have now been relieved of the barbarous cruelties of their King, and may live in peace and prosperity under the control and protection of the British Crown. Ashanti will prove valuable to the Gold Coast and greatly improve the advantages of the Niger Protectorate.

JOHN MURRAY; LONDON.

23. *The Story of the Ionic Revolt and Persian War as told by Herodotus.* Selections from the translation of Canon Rawlinson. Revised by C. C. Tancock, M.A., late Headmaster of Rossal School. The object of Mr. Tancock is to give a continuous narrative, in a convenient form, of the invasion of Greece by Xerxes. The readers of Herodotus will be pleased to renew their acquaintance with his history in an English dress. The selections are well chosen for the purpose, and in the light of modern warfare and the recent events in Crete and Thessaly, the work will be read with much interest. The copious notes, maps and illustrations, with an excellent index both of events and proper names, enhance the value of the volume.

24. *Twelve Indian Statesmen*, by G. SMITH, C.I.E., LL.D. The author, a veteran advocate of the liberty of the press, whilst supporting the Government in India—we refer to the eminent editor of "the Friend of India"—has written, chiefly, if not entirely, from personal acquaintance, the lives and labours of twelve Indian statesmen—C. Grant, H. Lawrence, J. Lawrence, J. Outram, D. McLeod, H. M. Durand, C. Mackenzie, H. B. Edwardes, J. C. Marshman, H. S. Maine, H. Ramsay, and C. U. Aitchison. The statements are, generally, vivid and unprejudiced, except where the Puritan feelings of the author enter the lists. The attitude towards the Panjab University of Sir Donald McLeod is wrongly described, as is also that of Sir Charles Aitchison. The former suggested an enlargement of vernacular schoolbooks from which the writer of this notice, after years of struggle, developed an Anglo-Oriental University, the Oriental features of which Sir C. Aitchison sought to destroy. To Sir Donald, the best of the statesmen described, and the wisest of frontier governors, Dr. Smith seems to award the least credit, although he does so in a tender manner.

JAMES NISBET AND CO.; LONDON.

25. *The Bible and Islām; or, The Influence of the Old and New Testaments on the Religion of Mohammed*, being the Ely Lecture for 1897, by HENRY PRESERVED SMITH, D.D. It is a strong recommendation to a book when it fulfils its promise. The present work certainly does this. The author has made the subject his own and has a clear view of the ground which he undertakes to survey. His object is to show the relation of the Qur'ān to the Bible in respect of subject-matter. This he does in a course of ten Lectures,—the number required by the terms of the Lectureship; and he covers the whole ground by taking up the question of the "Apostleship" of Muḥammad, the relation of the Qur'ān to pre-Islāmite "Heathenism," the "Narrative" element in the Qur'ān, its doctrine regarding the Nature and Attributes of God, its doctrine regarding the method of the Divine Government, its attitude regarding "Revelation" and "Prophecy," "Sin" and "Salvation," the Worship of God, the subject of the Future State of Existence, and the teachings of the Qur'ān on the question of the mutual relation of Church and State. Anyone who is acquainted with the Qur'ān and with its attitude towards the several

systems of religion, which it is supposed by Muḥammadans to supersede, will at once perceive at a glance how well adapted such a series of topics must be to develop the question of the influence of the Bible upon the mind of the author of that unique production. Dr. Smith exhibits neither prejudice against the Qur'ân nor partizanship in favour of the Bible; indeed, we know of no work in which the subject is dealt with with greater fairness and freedom from the bias of a foregone conclusion. The work is not a contribution to controversy; it is written in a reasonable and judicial spirit; and the intelligent follower of the Prophet may read it from end to end without fear of lighting upon anything that might hurt his religious sensibilities. It is well to know the conclusions of men whose opinions ultimately differ from our own. The dictum traditionally attributed to the second Khalifa—"If the books are in agreement with the Qur'ân they are superfluous, if they are not in harmony with it they are false; in either case they are fit to be destroyed"—will hardly, in these advanced days, commend itself to any educated Muḥammadan. It should be added that Dr. Smith evidently does his very utmost to avoid imputing conscious and intentional plagiarism. Such correspondence as he finds between the subject-matter of the two books, the Bible and the Qur'ân, he does all in his power to attribute now to ordinary coincidence, now to the affinity of the Shemitic languages in respect of idiom, and now to some source (such as ancient legend or popular proverb) common to the writers of *both* books.

To anyone acquainted with Islâmic history it must be evident that many Muḥammadans "out-Muḥammad Muḥammad,"—that they are more 'Muḥammadan' than the Prophet himself. For example, they constantly affirm that Islâm authoritatively abrogates and supersedes "the Books that went before": but whatever the Ihâdîs may affirm, the Qur'ân nowhere teaches this; on the contrary, it *commends* "the Books that went before," and attributes to them Divine authorship. Again, they assert that Jews and Christians have "tampered with the text" of their Sacred Books: this the Qur'ân nowhere does; on the contrary, it refers the followers of Muḥammad to the Taurât and the Injîl for authentic information,—“Ask those who believe the Books that went before.” The majority of Muḥammadans base their religious dogmas and practices not upon the Qur'ân text, but upon the ever-shifting and mutually-contradictory Ihâdîs,—that stupendous body of traditionary or Church literature that grew up in post-Muḥammadan times as the outcome of the controversies of Shia' and Sunni, or of Musulmán *versus* Jew or Christian. The intelligent Muḥammadan should feel no difficulty in admitting that the sincere believer in the Divine authorship of the Bible must be as incapable of wilfully tampering with the text of that Book as is the devout Musulmán of wilfully tampering with the text of the Qur'ân. If there be not on both sides a readiness to make so simple and rational an admission as this, then must Jew, Christian, and Muḥammadan be like parallel lines,—they will go on for ever, but they will never unite.

B.

26. *Conditional Immortality: A Help to Sceptics.* A Series of Letters by PROFESSOR SIR G. C. STOKES, BT., to JAMES MARCHANT. These letters were written in the first instance as to a private friend, but they are

now published by the desire of Mr. Marchant with the permission of their author. The object of the publication is apparently to show the way of dealing with those who are sceptical as to the doctrines of Christianity, or are "Free thinkers." With respect to "Eternal happiness," the reasonings of the learned author are excellent, but, by the majority of Christians, his opinions or conclusions as to "endless misery or destruction," and the "innate" quality of the Soul, will be considered illogical, and not in accordance with Biblical teaching.

OLIPHANT, ANDERSON, AND FERRIER; EDINBURGH AND LONDON.

27. *The Gist of Japan—the Islands, People and Missions*, by the REV. R. B. PEERY, M.A., PH.D., of the Lutheran Mission, Saga, Japan, with illustrations. Dr. Peery's work may be divided into two parts. In the first he gives a clear and succinct history of the country, with its numerous islands, its growth as a nation, and its present important and influential position in the East. He also describes the manners, characteristics, customs and religious beliefs of the people. In the second part the author, in an equally clear manner, gives the history of the introduction of Christianity from the West, the persecutions, and ultimate prohibition of the early missionaries, a re-introduction, and the numerous mission agencies now at work, including those of the Roman and Greek Churches. The long and practical experience of the author as a missionary in Japan will be of much value both to missionaries, and the Boards under which they may serve. He places much importance on the growth of native churches and agencies, so organized and conducted, as will conform, as far as possible, to the habits and customs of the people, and their intense feeling of patriotism and attachment and devotion to the occupant of their throne, whose origin they recognise as divine. The book is enlivened with good illustrations of scenes in Japan, places of religious worship, priests, customs of the people, and other views both pleasant and interesting.

28. *Chinese Characteristics*, by ARTHUR H. SMITH. This author minutely describes the various characteristics of the Chinese, and humourously contrasts them with Western civilization. His experience in the country, for twenty-two years, as an American missionary, has given him opportunity in many parts of the country, and among all classes of the people, to observe with a keen eye, and no little humour, many phases of Chinese life, manners, customs, notions of religious belief, habits of thought and modes of expression, and he has narrated them, from a genial heart, in an amusing and a racy manner. This is a popular edition, revised, with excellent illustrations, glossary of technical terms, and a copious index. Mr. Smith concludes by saying "that the needs of China are few—they are only *Character* and *Conscience*."

THE RELIGIOUS TRACT SOCIETY; LONDON.

29. *Pictures of Southern China*, by the REV. I. MACGOWAN, author of "A History of China," etc., with illustrations. The author, with an artistic

eye, and keen observation on the manners and customs of a people, gives a graphic description of a voyage to Shanghai, Foochow, Kushan, Amoy, Swatow, Hong-Kong and Canton. He found the people hospitable, industrious, ingenious and very conservative with respect to ancient manners and customs. Their mode of the administration of law and justice is foreign to western ideas, but on the whole is suited to the people. The English settlements have produced admirable warehouses and buildings, and seem to be highly prosperous. The prejudices as to railways and the otherwise energetic efforts of the foreigner, with regard to the development of the great wealth of the country, in coal, iron, and other minerals are vanishing, and thus the way is being gradually opened up for incalculable progress. The work contains nearly eighty well-executed illustrations of the towns, the harbours, the wharfs, the steamers, the junks, lorchas, sampans and other Chinese craft, as well as the modes of locomotion on land, and the beautiful islands, lakes, mountains, valleys, temples, pagodas and churches which he visited in his interesting and instructive journey. The traveller and the man of commerce, as well as the general reader, will find much pleasure and profit in the perusal of the book. To the statesmen and the merchants of England, the following expression of opinion is worthy of their serious attention. It contains good common sense. Mr. MacGowan says:

"The present system of admission to the Consulate service is by competitive examination held in London on certain subjects. Those who obtain the highest marks in these literary contests are appointed to the vacant posts in China. Promotion comes by seniority without any reference to the mental capacity or the idiosyncrasies of the members of the staff. A man may be exceedingly able, with large views of what England's policy ought to be, and enthusiastic in his profession, or he may have the merest shred of common sense. He may be one whose opinion is looked upon with contempt by all sensible men, or he may be indolent and make it the business of his life to do as little officially as he possibly can. The Foreign Office takes no cognizance of these conditions in the promotion of its men. They simply serve their time, their seniors are promoted or retire or vanish out of the field of vision, and as they rise step by step, till the full Consular authority is bestowed upon them. What risks are run by a system that no great commercial house would ever dream of adopting will be obvious to any thinking man."

The importance of this opinion will be more apparent, when it is considered that our representatives in China have not only to do with commerce in its various forms, but with the protection of the rights and liberties of Englishmen, as well as the responsibility of seeing that our Treaty rights are maintained. Hence Mr. MacGowan concludes, that the men who should be appointed to those responsible posts ought to have a knowledge of business and be distinguished in commercial life—thus they would know the requirements of the country, and promote the legitimate and honourable extension of her commerce, and prevent the rise of international disputes, which often end in great expense and even bloodshed and war.

GRANT RICHARDS ; LONDON.

30. *Studies in Brown Humanity*, by HUGH CLIFFORD. This work consists of a number of short stories, based, for the most part, on legends current among the various races of the Malay Peninsula, but also embodying actual facts of Malayan life and history. The stories are skilfully and graphically told ; while the writer's ready sympathy with, and genuine insight into, native character as revealed to him by fourteen years' residence and work in the country, still further enhance their interest. In fact, it is not without a feeling of regret that he contemplates the rapid extension of Western civilization, with its order and its monotony, to the remoter parts of the peninsula, in which cruel customs and misrule still go hand in hand with much that is noble and picturesque.

There is, further, no lack of "local colouring" in these stories ; the descriptive passages—more especially the river scenes—showing a keen appreciation of natural beauty, combined with a considerable degree of literary ability. To all those who are interested in the human factor or living material of our Empire in the Far East, Mr. Clifford's book should prove as instructive as it is entertaining. G.

RIVINGTONS ; LONDON.

31. *The Early History of the Hebrews*, by the Rev. A. H. SAYCE, Professor of Assyriology, Oxford. Prof. Sayce has written his interesting history from the standpoint of archæology. He has, with great industry and ability, applied the various discoveries in Egypt, Babylonia, and other regions of the East, to the elucidation of the Scripture narrative, and in doing so he has completely undermined the basis of what is called the "higher criticism" by philologists. "Discovery after discovery," he says, "have during the past few years crowded upon us from the ancient East, revolutionizing all our past conceptions of early Oriental history, and opening out a new and unsuspected world of culture and civilization," and in this revolution the criticisms of scholars as to the structure of the Pentateuch, its narratives, and other portions of Scripture have been swept away "as with a flood," and in the light of those discoveries from sites of temples, tablets of stone, monuments, inscriptions and other archæological sources, philological fabrics erected chiefly in Germany and England have vanished away like "bubbles." The author has applied his "search-light" along the vista from the origin of the Hebrew race in "Ur of the Chaldees," through the ages of the Patriarchs, their sojourn in Egypt, their exodus, their settlement in Palestine, the times of the Judges, the establishment of the Monarchy, to the death of Solomon, culminating in a complete vindication of his opinion. The work is of extreme importance and value to the intelligent student of the Old Testament record. The work is accompanied with a copious index, referring to the vicissitudes of "a nation called into existence, which neither defeat nor exile, persecution nor contempt, has ever been able to destroy."

THE ROXBURGHE PRESS; WESTMINSTER.

32. *Reminiscences of an Indian Police Official*, by ARTHUR CRAWFORD, C.M.G. The author has had long experience in reference to crime by natives of India. He tells, in a graphic way, enlivened with numerous pictorial illustrations, remarkable stories of plots, conspiracies, thefts, murders and other atrocious crimes on land and sea, committed by natives. The work demonstrates how essential it is that those who have the charge of the criminal department of India should be well acquainted with the languages and social habits of the people, and cherish sympathy with them in their pursuits and difficulties. His stories, moreover, amply confirm the well-known truth, that in the East, as well as in the West, "the heart of man is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked."

33. *From Jungle to Java; the trivial impressions of a short excursion to Netherlands India*, by ARTHUR KEYSER. This is the account of a trip taken by a Straits Settlements-officer, who having lived some years in the jungle of the Malay Peninsula, was recommended to go for a change to Java. The result is that he gives us an interesting sketch of the civil and military life of the Dutch, their treatment of the natives, and their troubles and vicissitudes in the war with the Lomboks; besides his own impressions of the Javanese, and of the mode of living and travelling in that country. The author's object is to assist those who intend to visit the beautiful island.

SALVIUCCI; ROME.

34. *Manuale e Glossario della Lingua Indostana o Urdú*, par CAMILLO TAGLIABUE (Collezione Scolastica del R. Istituto Orientale in Napoli); 1898. There are some Italians resident in India; but the number of such is not large when the whole population is taken into account. Yet still the publication of this work shows that in the opinion of the Royal Oriental Institute in Naples there is need for it. The issue of such a work shows very commendable enterprise on the part of that Society's publishers, and the elaboration of it tells of a genuine *penchant* for Oriental languages on the part of the compiler. The paper, type, and general get-up are everything that could be desired in a work of this nature.

It is the second volume of a grammar of the Hindustani language, and is designed for the use of Italians, or of other persons who would arrive at a knowledge of that language through the medium of the Italian tongue. As a "Manual" it contains Lessons and Exercises, and these are arranged on the progressive principle—from short and simple sentences (such as *Tu non sei scontento* = *Tú ná-ráz nahín hai*) up to sentences long and difficult. There are fifty-four sections in the book—each section consisting of a "Lesson" and an "Exercise"; the "Lesson" consists of a score or so of idiomatic conversational sentences given first in Italian and then in Urdú (that is, Hindustani), and it is followed by the paragraph of Exercises in Italian to be done by the student into Urdú. The volume does not contain a "Key" to the Exercises. At the end, however, there is a very full Glossary of all the words occurring in the Exercises; and in connection

with each word or phrase therein given the number of the Exercise in which it occurs is also carefully marked. There are no references to the preceding volume, which contains the Grammar with which the Manual stands connected; nor did it fall within the province of this book to supply the rules of grammar which the Lessons and Exercise illustrate: there are, however, many valuable foot-notes, both grammatical and philological, which will render pleasurable the labour of the student.

In the Urdú portions of the work the vowel-marks are given in connection with every word—and this as well in the body of the work as in the Vocabulary: this will be helpful to the student; but he will not often find the vowel-marks given in works published in India by native writers. The reader of Urdú, like the reader of unpointed Hebrew, is supposed to know already what particular vowel-marks ought in any instance to be supplied. On first blush this may seem difficult; but after a little practice it becomes so easy that the vowels come in at their proper places as if by intuition and quite involuntarily. The student, therefore, need be under no apprehension that he will stumble when the crutches are taken away. Urdú is a beautiful language, and with regular practice in the spoken tongue it becomes remarkably easy and flowing.

The type-founding of the Urdú of this Manual is very well executed—more so than is usually the case in Urdú published in England; but here and there we note a point in which it might be amended. For instance, the semi-vowel *ye* (the last letter in the Urdú alphabet) has three forms—the final, the initial, and the medial form. Now, in the work before us the final form proper is not once used, but in place of it the form for the vowel *ī* is used—the pair of dots belonging to the final *ī* being, quite properly, omitted. The effect is confusing till one gets accustomed to the phenomenon, as the form is neither long *ī* nor *e*, properly speaking. The final form of this semi-vowel, used by the native writers themselves, is quite different from the one used in this Manual; and it has the advantage of leaving no room for misunderstanding in rapid reading. The form of it used in this volume points to a different sound entirely from the one required. The practical seriousness of the mistake will be evident to the Urdú scholar when it is pointed out that the remark affects all instances of the inflected form of the masculine in all substances, verbs, participles, prepositions, post-positions, and adjectives—in all the inflectible parts of speech, in fact. Instead of “*hāthke*,” for instance, we have “*hāthki*”; in other words, it gives us a feminine in every instance in which we should have a masculine. The mistake will, to be sure, remedy itself in practice; yet surely it would have been better if the type had been properly cut in the first instance. With this exception—which, however, runs right through the book—the work is a really scholarly production, and to the Italian student will be found to be everything that a Manual of spoken Hindustani ought to be.

B.

SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, HAMILTON, KENT AND CO.; LONDON.

35. *The Anti-Christian Crusade*, by ROBERT P. C. COOFE. This is a convenient collection of opinions of Bishops, Deans, and other dignitaries

of the Church of England, with respect to their support of what is called "evolution" and "higher criticism,"—the object of the collector being to show in what direction apparently the teaching of the clergy of the Church is drifting.

SMITH, ELDER AND CO. ; WATERLOO PLACE, LONDON.

36. *Egypt in the Nineteenth Century*, by D. A. CAMERON. The author gives a clear and a concise history of Egypt from the time of Mehemet Ali in 1769 down to the English occupation in 1882, with map and index of proper names. He is confident that Egypt will yet become one of the most valuable countries in the world—the Nile opened up from Nyanza to the sea, and by railways and steamers, the whole country, and its fertility will be rapidly developed, hence the duty of England to study carefully its prospects and certain prosperity.

MR. ELLIOT STOCK ; LONDON.

37. *Indian Village Folk, their Works and Ways*, by T. B. PANDIAN. No more interesting or trustworthy book on the village folk of Southern India has been published, than the one just issued by the Reverend T. B. Pandian, a native Christian of that Presidency. The ramifications of a certain banking community are as extraordinary as their co-operation with their brethren in distress is sympathetic, whilst their heartlessness to their debtors is repulsive. The love-making that takes place amongst the *dhobys* (the washer folk), the life of a village, the tricks and myths of trades and artisans, the employments, and amusements in leisure hours, the tyrannies of petty officials, and the attitude of the villagers towards Western people, are as full of information as is possible to convey in 212 pages. The style of the work is charming, and the only thing we can find fault with, is that the author, in order to make his book attractive, has too often applied English terminology to Indian parallels.

SWAN SONNENSCHN EIN AND CO. ; LONDON.

38. *Studies in Little-known Subjects*, by C. E. PLUMPTRE ; 1898. This work consists of a series of articles from the pen of Miss Plumptre which have already appeared in sundry periodicals. As to the propriety of re-publishing in a volume contributions to the periodical press there is much that might be said both pro and contra. The literary value of such a volume must ultimately depend in great measure on the permanent nature of the subjects dealt with. For instance, soon after the decease of Mr. Charles Bradlaugh it was found that he died considerably in debt. With the view of aiding in the liquidation of his debts an effort was made at the time to awaken a desire in the public mind to purchase volumes from Mr. Bradlaugh's library, and also to buy the productions of his ever-active pen. With a view to stimulate public interest in the disposal of the books an article was written by Miss Plumptre and published in one of the periodicals (the name of which is not given). But that was nearly ten years ago, and we may be pardoned if we fail to see that the public interest demanded the republication of the article so long after the time of that

movement. It may be doubted also whether an article on the Census of 1890 is of sufficient live interest to the general reader to require republication so many years after the time. For the belated politician or curiosity-monger it may possibly have some interest; but readers of this class are extremely few and far between. And similar remarks might be made touching the brace of articles on "Japan" published so long ago as 1886, and touching other articles in this volume. They were doubtless of great value at the time they were published, but the propriety of asking people to buy them again so late in the day may reasonably be doubted. And the same might be said respecting the article on Dean Ramsay's *Reminiscences*, and other articles—the interest of which is in great measure ephemeral.

Disparaging, however, as these remarks may be, there is much in the volume that calls for commendation. Miss Plumptre exhibits much miscellaneous information, and has a facile pen and a very pleasant way of turning wide reading to account. She is master of a good style and can interest her readers in subjects that have their charm for herself. And some of the articles here reprinted are of more or less permanent public interest and value. B.

C. TINLING AND CO.; LIVERPOOL.

39. *A Journey through South Africa* (illustrated), by ELLIS EDWARDS. The outcome of the author's trip through South Africa is this interesting book, which gives much information regarding the Cape Colony, the Transvaal, and Natal. Among the subjects touched upon are: the trade and trade outlets of Cape Colony, the different railway routes, the Transvaal, how the diamond mines were discovered and the untold wealth of Kimberley, terminating with an account of Natal and its capital, Durban. A very readable and instructive book.

ROWLAND WARD, LIMITED; LONDON.

40. *The English Angler in Florida*, by ROWLAND WARD, F.Z.S. A charming book for the sportsman, whose delight is among the finny tribe. It is full of illustrations, not fanciful, but genuine. The monsters of the deep, such as the tarpon, the sword-fish, the monster marine perch, are all minutely described and beautifully photographed, as well as smaller game. Excellent hints as to the kind of tackle, and where to find it, the boats, and other necessary information for a season of sport in Florida are all given with an exactness which the author of the "Records of Big Game" and the "Sportsman's Handbook" could alone give.

W. H. WHITE AND CO.; EDINBURGH.

41. *The Nicetical Christ*, by S. H. PLAYFAIR. The object of the author in this short essay is apparently to show that in the life of Christ and His sayings there is a common ground and basis of faith in the Christian Churches of the East and West and in the teachings of the Koran.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

Freedom of the Press in India: its Origin and Progress, by MAHADEV RAJARAM BODAS, M.A., LL.B., Poona. A well-written and instructive pamphlet. The learned author concludes his treatise with these judicious words—"We ought to guard the 'freedom of the Press' from external encroachments, as well as misuse by ourselves."

The Indian and Eastern Engineer Diary, 1899. (50, Fenchurch Street, London.) This publication, while handy and useful for entries day by day throughout the year, contains a vast amount of new statistical information relating to India, China, Siam, Japan, and the Straits Settlements. The Index to the numerous Engineering Advertisements is well executed. The Calendar is distinct in reference to the Christian, Hindoo, and Mahomedan systems. The Steamship Lines, the Railways, the Indian Stamp Duties, the Government of India, and its Provinces, Banks, Clubs and Hotels, vernacular numbers, Indian weights, measures, currency, English value of foreign weights and measures, Decimal equivalents of coins and weights, postal and telegraph information, Imports and Exports relating to India and the East, common chemical terms and their scientific equivalents, and a vast amount of other information, valuable to all commercial classes having dealings with the various countries of the East, are all given in this publication. The illustrations of the various kinds of machinery form of themselves a most interesting scientific picture-book.

Tarjuma-Âmoz-i-Fârsi, or *Easy Steps to Persian Composition*, being exercises for translation from English into Persian. (The Mission Press, Surat, India, 1897.) Part I. (For the use of the Persian Students of the Sixth and Seventh Standards. By Munshi N. A. Hajib-i-Shahi, and revised by Moulvi Farid-ud-din Ahmad, B.A. 3rd edition. We recommend this most useful text-book to those desirous of acquiring a knowledge of Persian composition. The glossary at the end, which contains idiomatic Persian phrases in the Persian text, will be much appreciated. The work is remarkably free from errors.

Korean Sketches, by REV. JAMES S. GALE, B.A. (Toronto University), of the American Presbyterian Mission, Wönsan, Korea. (Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, Edinburgh and London.) These sketches of Korean life and character, written by one who has passed some years in intimate association with all classes of the people of the Hermit kingdom, will be found very interesting and instructive.

Catalogue of the Wade Collection of Chinese and Manchu Books in the Library of the University of Cambridge, by HERBERT A. GILES, M.A., LL.D. (Cambridge University Press.) This interesting Catalogue classifies all the Chinese works collected and presented to the University Library by the late Sir Thomas Francis Wade, British Minister at Peking. The Collection consists of 883 works in 4,304 volumes. Section I. consists mainly of Chinese Classics and exegetical works of the Confucian Canon; Section II., History, Biography, and Statutes; Section III., Imperial Geography; Section IV., Leading Novels and Plays; Section V., Dictionaries and Concordances; Section VI., Pamphlets especially during the T'ai-p'ing

rebellion; Section VII., Translations of religious and scientific works; Section VIII., of works in the Manchu and Mongol languages adapted for students. The printing of the Catalogue has been defrayed by subscriptions from some friends of the late donor.

A Glossary of the Aramaic Inscriptions, by STANLEY A. COOK, B.A. (Cambridge University Press.) This Glossary has been prepared with great care from many scattered sources, involving a large mass of details. It is based upon the Aramaic inscriptions edited by the French "Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres" in the second part of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, comprising some three hundred inscriptions from Assyria, Babylonia, Asia Minor, Egypt, and Palestine. To these have been added about seven hundred Sinaitic inscriptions collected and edited by Euting, and one hundred and fifty Palmyrene inscriptions published by the Comte de Vogüé in his work *La Syrie Centrale*, and other numerous Palmyrene inscriptions, which have since appeared. This work is calculated to throw additional light on the study of comparative Semitic philology. Being issued by the Syndics of the University Press, the printing is excellent and accurate.

Catalogo di Monete Siamesi. This is an interesting Catalogue of Siamese Coins made by the eminent writer and antiquarian, Major G. E. Gerini. It is not a complete treatise on Siamese coins, but simply deals with those of the present reigning dynasty (established A.D. 1782 with the capital at Bangkok) as forming part of the collection presented last year by order of the King of Siam to the Prince of Naples. Signor Gerini was instructed by the Siamese Authorities to draw up the Catalogue to be presented along with the collection (which was afterwards presented by the Prince to the "Società Numismatica Italiana."), and published in the *Rivista*, the organ of the Society. The Catalogue, with its Notes, contains much original information, accompanied with well-executed illustrations, and by the kindness of the author it has been presented to the Oriental University Institute, Woking, England.

Eothen, by ALEXANDER WILLIAM KINGLAKE, reprinted from the first edition, with an introduction by the Rev. William Tuckwell. (George Bell and Sons, London.) A neat and convenient volume, with an interesting introduction and excellent illustrations. It preserves the eccentric punctuation of an ungrammatical Etonian in pre-local examination days, the original headings of the chapters, words and phrases, nearly seventy in number, altered in the later editions, and long paragraphs subsequently omitted or transposed.

Eclipses of the Moon in India, by ROBERT SEWELL, late of the Indian Civil Service. (Swan, Sonnenschein and Co., London.) A continuation of the *Indian Calendar*, with elaborate and well-printed tables drawn up by Dr. Robert Schram for determining questions connected with eclipses of the sun in India for a period of 1600 years. The eclipses of the moon are now dealt with, accompanied with valuable notes.

Map of Egyptian Sudan. (Edward Stanford, Charing Cross, London.) This remarkably distinct and well-executed map has been compiled in the Intelligence Department of the War Office, showing the Nile from Metemma

to Khartum, and the Bahr el Abiad, or the White Nile, and the Bahr el Azraq, or the Blue Nile.

The "Daily Mail" Commercial Map of China. (George Philip and Son, 32, Fleet Street, London.) A well-executed map, showing very distinctly the various Railway concessions, coal-fields, mines, navigable rivers, and steamship routes, with respect to the various European Powers now operating in China. Not being overcrowded with names, the various Treaty Ports, and the centres of commerce and strategy, stand out on this map with precision and prominence.

We also acknowledge, with thanks, the following works, which shall receive our careful attention in our next issue: *O'er Tartar Deserts, or, English and Russian in Central Asia*, by DAVID KER. (W. and R. Chambers, Edinburgh and London.) *British Rule and Modern Politics*, by the HON. ALBERT S. G. CANNING. (Smith, Elder and Co., London.) *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Meccah*, by CAPTAIN SIR RICHARD F. BURTON, edited by Lady Burton, with an introduction by Stanley Lane Poole. 2 vols. (George Bell and Sons, London.) *Catherine Gladstone: Life, Good Works, and Political Efforts*, by EDWIN A. PRATT (illustrated). (Sampson Low, Marston and Co., London.) *Through the Yang-tse Gorges, or, Trade and Travel in Western China*, by ARCHIBALD JOHN LITTLE, F.R.G.S. Third and revised Edition, with map and illustrations. (Sampson Low, Marston and Co., London.) *The Story of the West Indies*, by ARNOLD KENNEDY, M.A. (Horace Marshall and Son, London.) *Rāmakrishna, his Life and Sayings*, by the Right Hon. F. MAX MÜLLER, K.M. (Longmans, Green and Co., London and Bombay.) *The Sepoy Mutiny as seen by a Subaltern from Delhi to Lucknow*, by COLONEL E. VIBART. (Smith, Elder and Co., London.) *Asāmy makātib el bōsta fy Maṣr, bil lisān el maṣry* (Egyptian Post Offices and Postal information in the Egyptian language.) Cairo, 1898. *Les Fonctionnaires coloniaux, Documents officiels*, Tome I., 2 Serie. (Armand Colin et Cie., Paris, and Luzac and Co., London.) Also *Le Régime foncier aux Colonies, Documents officiels*, Tome I., 1^o Inde Britannique, 2^o Colonies Allemandes, 3^{me} Serie. (Institut Colonial International, Brussels, and Luzac and Co., London.) *Report of the Executive Council*, August, 1898, International Law Association, London. (William Clowes and Sons, Limited, London.) *The Persian Manual*, by MOHAMAD NIZAM-UD-DIN KHURSHID MIRZA. (Lahore, Civil and Military Gazette Press.) *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Semitic Series, Part X., "The Letters of Abu 'l-'Ala," by D. S. MARGOLIOUTH, M.A. (The Clarendon Press.) *The New Far East*, by ARTHUR DROSY, illustrated. (Cassell and Co., London.) *Excavations at Jerusalem*, 1894—1897, by F. J. BLISS, PH.D., plans and illustrations by ARCHIBALD C. DICKIE, A.R.I.B.A. (The Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, 1898.) *Feudal and Modern Japan*, by ARTHUR MAY KNAPP. 2 vols. (Duckworth and Co., London.)

We beg to acknowledge also the receipt of: *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*;—*Biblia*, the American monthly of Oriental

- Research (Meriden, Conn., U.S.A.);—*La Revue des Revues* (Paris);—*La Revue Générale Belge* (Brussels);—*The Minerva* (Rome);—*The Contemporary Review* (London: Isbister and Co.);—*The National Review* (Arnold and Co.);—*Le Polybiblion* (Paris: Rue St. Simon);—*Le Bulletin des Sommaires* (Paris);—The American Weekly, *Public Opinion* (Astor Place, New York);—*Journal of the Society of Arts* (London);—*Le Mémorial Diplomatique* (Paris);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*The Indian Magazine and Review* (London: A. Constable and Co.);—*Comptes-rendus de la Société de Géographie* (Paris);—*Le Tour du Monde* (London and Paris: Hachette);—From Geo. Newnes, London: the three last numbers of *The Strand Magazine*;—the three last numbers of *The Strand Musical Magazine*, *The Navy and Army*, and *Country Life* (all illustrated)—*The Land of the Midnight Sun* (Parts I.—V.);—Hans Andersen's *Fairy Tales* (Parts I.—IV.);—*The Wide World*;—*The Monster Recitation Book*;—*Tit-Bits' Monster Almanack*, 1899;—Christmas number of *Woman's Life*;—*Fashions and Fancies*;—*The Covent Garden Musical Annual*, 1898-99;—*The Ladies' Field* Christmas number;—*Rapport sur les travaux de l'Académie Hongroise des Sciences* (Budapest);—*Magyar Tudományos Akadémiai Almanach* (Budapest);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute*, Nos. 1—7 (Northumberland Avenue, London);—*The North American Review*, June to December, 1898 (New York);—*The American Journal of Semitic Sciences and Literatures*, continuing "Hebraica" (The University of Chicago Press, and Luzac and Co., London);—the last quarter's *Sanscrit Journal* of the Oriental University Institute, Woking.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

India : NORTH-WEST FRONTIER.—The terms of the Government for the future control of the Khaibar Pass were announced to the Afridi *jirgas* at Peshawar on 24th October last and have been accepted. They are as follows:—1. The Afridis having violated their agreement and forfeited their allowances, Government will hold the pass, and control it as it thinks desirable. 2. The pass shall be open to trade. A fort to be built at Landi Kotal, and other forts between that place and Jamrud. A railway to be built if necessary. Offences committed in the vicinity to be punished. 3. The Afridis shall deal only with the British Government. They will manage the affairs of their country, but in the Khaibar they will be responsible to the Government, and co-operate in the preservation of order and protection of life. 4. The Government to continue the allowances, and maintain a militia, recruited from the Afridis and other clans, to be commanded by British officers. It will arrange for supports, if troops are not always stationed at Landi Kotal. It will make all arrangements regarding trade through the pass, to be guarded by the militia. 5. The allowances to commence on the date of the adherence of the tribes, and to cease immediately on any misconduct with the tribes in the pass, or against British allies. Copies of these terms were sent to the Amir of Afghanistan through Sir Salter Pyne, who returned to Kabul *via* the Khaibar in November.

The Mad Fakir crossed the Swat River with a large gathering towards the end of November. He attacked the forces of the Nawab of Dir and gained some successes. A movable column was sent in consequence from Malakand to Chakdara, and reinforcements of 6,000 men were held in readiness to proceed to Malakand under the command of General Waterfield. Later advices state that Major Deane had received a *jirgah* of the Azi-Khel section of Upper Swatis who had seceded from the Fakir, and promised to expel him from their territory. If this occurs the danger of a disturbance may be considered at an end.

A railway is about to be built from Nowshera to Dargai at the foot of the Malakand.

GENERAL.—Lord Elgin, on bidding farewell at Simla, on 7th Nov., was presented with an address by the Municipality. On his way to Burma he visited Nabha, and also Patiala, where he was entertained at a banquet, and invested the Maharaja with the insignia of the Order of the Grand Cross of the Star of India, as a representative of the Sikh nation, and complimenting His Highness on his eminent services in times of emergency, expressed his best wishes for the prosperity of the Phulkian States of the Punjab. On arriving at Cawnpore on the 9th, Lord Elgin met the Begum of Bhopal, who had travelled purposely to bid his Lordship and Lady Elgin good-bye. He then left for Dacca, where he met the Nawab. At Jhajha the Maharaja of Gidour had also an interview with Lord Elgin. On reaching Goalundo, he went by steamer to Chandpur, thence by rail

to Chittagong, where he met with an enthusiastic reception,—two addresses of welcome were presented, one from the District Board and the other from the Municipality. On his arrival at Rangoon on 15th November he was received with great enthusiasm. At Mandalay he was greeted with an address of welcome. He then proceeded to Myit Kyina, the farthest northward point of the Burma railway, a distance of 724 miles from Rangoon. After visiting Bhamo, the Viceregal party went by river to Prome, and thence by rail back to Rangoon, which was reached on 7th December. Lord Elgin visited the Shwe Dagon pagoda, the most famous Buddhist shrine in Indo-China. Afterwards at a durbar he presented several Burmese and Indian officials and non-official gentlemen with various decorations for distinguished assistance to Government. He left Mulmein on the 13th Dec., proceeding direct to Calcutta, where he arrived on the 16th.

The frontier delimitation with China is being continued,—the Northern party with Mr. J. G. Scott, the Commissioner, working from the Taping river to the Kunlon ferry,—the Southern party, under Mr. E. C. S. George, C.I.E., from Pansan, east of the Salween river.

Surveys for the Burmese-Yunnan-Yangtze Railway are proceeding rapidly. The present Burma railway has been opened from Rangoon to Mandalay,—thence to Kunlon on the Salween river is under construction.

Lord Curzon of Kedleston, the new Viceroy of India, on being entertained at dinner last November by the Royal Societies Club in London, referred to his studies for many years of the geography of Asia, in its political and commercial as well as physical aspects. He was proud of the high office to which he had been appointed, as India had always appeared to him to be the political pivot and centre of our Imperial system. Our Empire was before and beyond everything else an Asiatic Empire, and he who had never been east of Suez did not know what the British Empire was. In India we were doing a work which no other nation had ever attempted to do before. In the heart of that Asian continent lay the true fulcrum of dominion; there was the touchstone of our national greatness. He considered that the eastern trend of Empire would increase and not diminish, and would soon engross the sympathies, knowledge, and interest of the entire nation. In concluding his sympathetic and eloquent speech, he bore testimony to the capacity and sense of responsibility of our frontier officers, and to the high merits of the native Indian troops.

He left for India on 15th December.

Northern India is at present free from plague; in the Madras Province there is a serious increase. Bombay city shows a slight decrease, but in the Dharwar district over 2,000 deaths have been reported.

A serious plague riot occurred at Seringapatam on the 18th November. Several of the mob were killed, and many have been arrested, inoculated, and imprisoned.

The report of the Famine Commission was issued last month. The recommendations made, closely follow those of the Famine Commissioners in 1880. The general result of the experience gained lately shows that the existing codes under which relief was given are framed on suitable lines. The fresh recommendations render the codes more adaptable to all

the varying conditions, and supply deficiencies in a few matters where they were not sufficiently precise.

General Sir W. S. A. Lockhart has been appointed Commander-in-Chief in succession to Sir G. S. White.

Sir L. A. Kershaw, late Chief Justice of the High Court of Judicature for the North-Western Provinces, has been appointed to be Chief Justice of the High Court at Bombay.

NATIVE STATES.—The Nawab of Dacca has presented a handsome donation of Rs. 5,000 to the Indian Heroes Fund.

The Government of Mysore has employed a specialist in agriculture from Austria to improve the agricultural prospects of the Province.

The installation of His Highness Surendra Bikram Singh Bahadur, heir apparent to the *gadi* of Sirmoor, by the Lieut.-Governor of the Panjab, took place at Nahun in October last.

The Maharaja of Jeypore has made a liberal grant of one lakh and fifty thousand rupees for the construction of two iron girder bridges over the Kolab and Indravati rivers.

A destructive fire occurred at Srinagar in Kashmir at the end of October. The damage is estimated at 10 lakhs.

The financial situation of Hyderabad (Deccan) for this year is:—Government: Income, H. S. Rs. 3,94,09,800; expenditure, 3,96,87,396; deficit, 2,77,596. Other heads: Income, H. S. Rs. 1,84,48,000; expenditure, 1,83,99,000; balance, 49,000.

The Nizam's Government has sanctioned the immediate construction of a complete and thoroughly equipped Pasteur Institute for Hyderabad.

CEYLON.—Sir West Ridgway, the Governor, in his opening address to the Legislative Council in November, congratulated the Colony on its increased prosperity.

The revenue during 1897 was the highest recorded. The surplus balance over expenditure amounted to Rs. 2,372,143. It is expected that the surplus of 1898 would be from 1½ to 2 million rupees. The estimated revenue for 1899 was Rs. 24,965,000, and the expenditure Rs. 24,931,693.

BALUCHISTAN.—A weekly *Dak* service connecting Quetta with Persian Seistan was opened in October last. A British consulate is to be established in the latter place.

TURKEY IN ASIA.—The Emperor and Empress of Germany after visiting Constantinople arrived at Haifa on 25th Oct. last and proceeded to Jerusalem. The Imperial party were received with much ceremony and afterwards visited Beirut and Damascus.

RUSSIA IN ASIA.—The Siberian railway is now open to Irkutsk, 3,500 miles from St. Petersburg, the transit occupying about 12 days.

Lieut.-General Schweikofsky, formerly Military Governor of Ferghana, and Colonel Zaitzeff, commander of the Osh district, have been reprimanded in connection with the surprise of Russian troops by rebellious natives at Andijan last spring. Several other commanders have been dismissed and the elders of the districts implicated have been removed from their posts.

The district of Iskander in the Samarkand territory has been declared to be suspected of plague.

Passenger traffic on the new Murghab railway from Merv to Sari-Yazi was opened on 13th November.

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.—The Spanish Government have, under protest, accepted the sum of £4,000,000 from the United States Government for the Philippine Islands and Sulu Archipelago.

SAMOA.—King Malietoa succumbed to typhoid fever last August, and the Government is being administered by the Consuls until a successor is chosen. Certain of the chiefs have elected Mataafa King, but others have protested. The Chief Justice will decide.

CHINA.—In consequence of attacks having been made on Europeans in Peking in October last, the Russian Minister ordered an escort of Cossacks from Port Arthur, and Sir C. Macdonald a guard of marines from Wei-hai-wei, for the protection of their Legations. The other Legations have followed their example. An apology by the Tsung-li-Yamên was made and the offenders punished. Afterwards a number of Chinese and Manchu soldiers having cowardly assaulted, at a railway-station near Peking, British officials, the Tsung-li-Yamên promptly removed the offending troops and punished the delinquents.

A contract has been signed by the Director of Railways and the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank for a 5 per cent, sterling loan of £2,250,000 for the Niu-chwang and Hsi-minting Railway (260 miles in length), also one for a valuable coal-mining concession near the proposed railway, north of the Great Wall.

The Government has granted a concession to work all mines in the north-east of Mongolia and in the province of Pechili to Chang-yen-Mao, formerly director of the Kaiping collieries.

The regulations concerning the conduct of mining and railway enterprise in China issued by the Mining and Railway Board comprise 22 clauses; the principal points of interest are:—

1. The exemption of Manchuria, Shan-tung and Lung-chau from the application of the regulations on the ground that their international relations are involved.

2. Railway agreements are in future not to include mining rights, while mining concessions will not include power to construct railways except for purely mining purposes.

3. Every mining and railway concessionaire will be obliged to provide schools for the instruction of the people.

4. In the case of each enterprise Chinese capital must form three-fifths of the whole.

5. The sanction of the Board will be necessary for the employment of foreign capital, and the control of the enterprise, irrespective of foreign capital, must remain in Chinese hands.

6. The proportion of profit payable to the Chinese Government in the case of railways is 40 per cent., and 25 per cent. in the case of mines.

The revenue for HONG KONG for the year 1897 amounted to \$2,686,915. The expenditure to a little less than the revenue. The population is estimated at 248,710, including 8,555 European civilians, and 5,118 members of the army and navy.

JAPAN.—The Marquis Yamagata as Premier formed a new Cabinet in November last. The portfolios are held as follows:—Foreign Affairs M. Aoki; Interior, Marquis Saigo; Finance, Count Matsukata; War, General Katsura; Marine, Admiral Yamamoto; Justice, Count Kujoûra; Education, Viscount Kabayama; Agriculture, Mr. Sone; Posts, Viscount Yoshikawa.

A Bill has been introduced for increasing the land tax with the view of providing 14 million yen towards covering the deficit of 13 million yen in the Budget, the balance to be raised by increased taxation in other directions.

KOREA.—At the end of October the Ministry resigned, having incurred censure by refusing to convoke a Parliament.

The British, Japanese, and American Ministers have protested against the action of the Government in stopping foreigners trading in the interior which had been sanctioned for a long time.

A sanguinary affray between political factions having occurred at Seoul, many persons were killed.

BRITISH NORTH BORNEO.—The gross surplus revenue for the first six months of 1898 was \$80,000.

EGYPT.—The Egyptian Budget has abolished the last of the taxes on natives alone.

The land tax is reduced by £216,000.

The receipts for 1899 are estimated at £10,865,000, and the expenditure at £10,824,000; the latter comprises £271,600 for the fund of savings from the debt conversion, which will also receive in 1899 £73,800—economies resulting from conversions of the Daira Domains loans—and £114,800 interest on the stocks in which the fund is invested. At the end of 1899 the fund will amount to £3,587,500, which cannot be touched by the Egyptian Government without the consent of the Powers.

The largest increase of receipts was from railways—viz., £120,000.

The receipts from the Sudan are estimated at £41,000, leaving a net deficit in the civil administration of the Sudan of £120,000 (£1 = £1 os. 6d.).

The Berber-Suakin telegraph has been completed, and communication is now open between Cairo and Suakin and Kassala over the Egyptian and Suakin military lines.

On December 7th Colonel Parsons and Signor Martini, Royal Commissioner for Erythrea, signed a convention delimiting Egyptian and Italian territories to the north of Erythrea. The high plateau of Hagar, Musch, and Ambacta, which has been the subject of controversy since 1894, remains in the possession of Italy.

SOUDAN.—After the defeat of the Khalifah at Omdurman, the Sirdar proceeded up the Nile and re-hoisted the Egyptian flag at Fashoda, Sobat, and Meshra-er-Rek. The former place he found in possession of a French force, consisting of 6 officers and 100 Sudanese, under Major Marchand, who had hoisted the French flag. After a protest and leaving a force there, he returned to Omdurman and Cairo. Major Marchand, after journeying *viâ* the Nile to Cairo and communicating with his Govern-

ment, returned to Fashoda and evacuated it, proceeding to Jibutil *via* Adis Abeba, which place he will reach about June next.

The Sirdar has been raised to the peerage with the title of Lord Kitchener of Khartum and of Aspoll, in the county of Suffolk.

The appeal of the Sirdar to the British public for £100,000 for the establishment of a Gordon Memorial College at Khartum has been nobly responded to, with the result that the amount has now been subscribed. (See our "Notes.")

The Ministry of War has demanded a first credit of £350,000 for the reorganization of the Sudan. This sum is to be principally devoted to extending the railway from the Atbara to Khartum, to forming a Sudan police force, and to effecting various other reforms.

The Khalifah and his followers have been attacked on the Kordofan frontier by "friendlies," and Ali Sherif, son-in-law of the Mahdi, the Mahdi's two sons, the Sheikh Hamado and other Baggara Emirs were taken prisoners and brought to Omdurman. Later news reports that Arab "friendlies" have again defeated the Khalifah at Sherkela with heavy loss. He has fled towards El Obeid.

Nearly the whole of Ahmed Fedil's Dervish force has deserted him and come over to Colonel Parsons. Ahmed Fedil with some Baggata followers has retreated towards the south-east.

ABYSSINIA.—The Emperor is said to have sent 40,000 men under Ras Makonnen against Ras Mangascia, who had raised a rebellion in Tigre, but peace had been re-established through the influence of the Abuna of Adowa.

BRITISH EAST AFRICA : UGANDA.—A detachment of the 27th Bombay Infantry under Lieut. Price has been attacked by 200 Langos, who were driven off. Some Uganda Rifles and Swahilis under Captain Wake have been also attacked by Sudanese, assisted by some Waganda and Wangoro tribesmen, and both sides suffered slight losses.

Preparations for the Nile Valley Expedition are going on apace. Already several companies of Sudanese are at Fajao, Foweira and Masindi. The expedition proceeds in two columns, one going from Fajao *via* the Nile to Wadelai, and thence on to Dufileh; the other starts from Foweira overland *via* Fatiko to Dufileh. They will afterwards proceed to Lado, where the Belgians have a large force of troops and where the British flag is flying side by side with that of Belgium by virtue of the agreement under which a large tract of territory along the west bank of the Nile was leased to the Congo Free State during the lifetime of the present King of the Belgians.

The Uganda railway construction advances. The rail-head is now in a temperate climate 4,000 feet above the sea. The rails have reached the 235th mile, and the traffic returns of the open section, which extends for goods to Simba, the 226th mile, are highly encouraging.

SOMALILAND passed under the English Foreign Office on 1st October last. Lieut.-Colonel J. H. Sadler is the Political Agent for the Somali Coast. The Ogadayn Somalis have submitted to a British force after several encounters.

SOUTH AFRICA : CAPE COLONY.—General Butler, the new Commander-in Chief of the Forces arrived at Cape Town on 30th November, and was sworn in as Administrator.

The Government having been defeated, in October last, in the Cape Assembly, by a vote of want of confidence, a new Ministry was formed with Mr. Schreiner as Premier.

The Cape Government has agreed to a perpetual annual contribution of £30,000 towards the Imperial Navy, and a large sum is to be spent on a dock and fortifications at Simonstown, in order to render that place impregnable.

The revenue for 1897-98 was £6,536,478, and the expenditure £7,062,089. The deficiency will be reduced by sundry repayments to £22,733. The estimated revenue for 1898-99 is £6,477,000, and the expenditure £7,100,000. No new taxes will be imposed, but £4,500,000 will be borrowed for various works.

The House of Assembly has passed the Redistribution Bill, thus creating eight new constituencies and an addition of sixteen members to the House.

TRANSVAAL.—Hostilities broke out last October between the Boers and Mpefu's followers in Magatoland; the latter retreated to the Magato Mountain, where they made a stand. The Boer forces defeated them on 16th November, and Mpefu is now a fugitive.

The Volksraad has sanctioned the proposal of the Government for a tax of five per cent. on the net profits of gold-mining in all mines except the *mynpacht*, which are to pay $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. This tax is estimated to realize £500,000. This has aroused strong protests from the representatives of the mining industry.

On December 5th the Government concluded terms with Messrs. Baereldt and Heybloom, representing Dutch financiers, for a loan of two and a half millions, to be issued at 95 at 4 per cent. interest. No conditions are attached.

The Raad has agreed to most of the proposals for closer union with the Orange Free State.

RHODESIA.—The King of Barotseland has given the South Africa Company administrative powers over his whole territory.

An order in Council has been issued, dated 20th October last, constituting the new charter of Southern Rhodesia, which comprises the territory lying between the Zambesi, the Portuguese possessions, the Transvaal, and Khama's territory. (See the principal conditions of the charter in our "Notes.")

WEST AFRICA : SIERRA LEONE.—Twenty-three chiefs have been convicted and sentenced to death for murders in the Kwellu and Barthe districts. The force under Lieut.-Colonel Cunningham defeated Bai Burch's adherents in the Kareni district, and soon afterwards Bai Burch was captured by a company of the West African Regiment under Captain Goodwyn.

THE NIGER.—Military operations have been lately undertaken by the Royal Niger Company against the natives of the Assaba *Hinterland*, and

some severe fighting has resulted. The towns of Atiema and Iselpatima have been captured and burned.

Fighting has also taken place between the 2nd West African force and the Ilorins. The King of Bida being troublesome, an expedition has been sent against him. Disturbances having occurred near Akassa, a force was landed, and, after a short engagement, peace was restored.

Colonel Willcocks has been acting as Commandant of the *Hinterlands* during the absence of Colonel Lugard.

From January 1st the administration of the Niger Protectorate, formerly under the control of the Foreign Office, is transferred to the Colonial Office.

THE GOLD COAST.—By the latest reports three railway lines have been settled. The work of one has commenced, and surveys for the other two have been completed. There is now telegraphic communication with Kumassi, the capital of Ashanti.

CANADA.—The Right Hon. the Earl of Minto has been appointed Governor-General of the Dominion in succession to Lord Aberdeen. A farewell banquet was given to the latter by the citizens of Ottawa, showing their personal esteem for him and their loyalty to the Empire.

The Earl of Minto assumed his public duties at Ottawa on November 19th, and in reply to a cordial address of welcome referred to the immense possibilities of the Ottawa Ship Canal.

The total number of votes cast for Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic was 278,463, against 264,579, being a majority for prohibition of 13,884. All provinces showed a majority for prohibition except Quebec, where the adverse majority was 94,015. The total number of voters enrolled is 1,233,849, thus more than one-half abstained from voting.

A new service between England and Canada has been arranged by the Canadian Steamship Company between Milford Haven and Paspebiac, an ice-free port at the northern extremity of Chaleurs Bay, below the mouth of the St. Lawrence.

WEST INDIES.—A free grant of £150,000 is proposed to be given by the Home Government towards assisting the islands in the losses caused by the recent hurricane. Also a loan is to be provided for the same purpose.

All the immigration and export duties formerly levied in the island of St. Lucia have been remitted from January 1st.

Sir Thomas Lipton, in consultation with Mr. Chamberlain as Colonial Secretary, has organized a small Committee to inquire into the necessities of Barbadoes. No decision will be made until a report from this Committee has been received. But it is stated that, should the report be favourable, Sir Thomas Lipton has intimated to the Colonial Office "he will be prepared to invest such amount of capital in the cane-sugar and other industries as may be required," and which is estimated at £1,000,000.

AUSTRALASIA: NEW SOUTH WALES.—Great damage has been caused by drought.

The Budget.—A credit balance of £135,000 has been carried forward from the year ending last June. The revenue for the current year has

been estimated at £9,433,000, and the expenditure at £9,681,000. The deficiency will be made up by extra taxation.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.—The Treasurer has introduced a Bill for raising a loan of £1,794,000 for public works.

QUEENSLAND.—Mr. J. Dickson has become Premier and Chief Secretary.

NEW ZEALAND.—The Legislative Council has passed the third reading of the Old Age Pensions Bill. Mr. W. P. Reeves has been reappointed Agent-General in London.

Obituary.—The deaths have been recorded during this quarter of:—The Hon. J. Byrnes, Premier of Queensland;—Mr. Kingsford, the distinguished Canadian historian;—Brigade-Surgeon J. E. T. Aitchison, C.I.E., late Bengal Army;—Lieut.-Colonel W. A. Shortt (Crimea, New Zealand Wars of 1861 and 1863-64);—Colonel H. B. Urmston, Bengal Staff Corps, retired (Hassauzai 1852-53 and Mohmand 1854 expeditions);—General J. M. Walter, C.B. (Kaffir campaign 1846-47, Panjab 1849, and Indian campaign 1857-59);—W. Alexander Mackenzie Duncan, C. S. Assam;—Sirdar Dayal Singh of the Panjab;—Major-General G. R. Fitzroy (Crimea);—The Hon. W. J. Larnach, C.M.G., Member of the New Zealand Parliament;—Second-Lieut. W. A. L. Hale, Northumberland Fusiliers (Sudan 1898);—Lieut.-Colonel M. J. Macartney, late Bombay Royal Engineers (Afghanistan 1878-80);—Colonel J. W. Macdougall, I.S.C.;—Sécond-Lieut. Maunsell, 2nd Lancashire Fusiliers (Sudan 1898);—Lieut.-Colonel J. R. Sharp (Zulu War 1879);—Sir Henry Barkly, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., formerly Governor of British Guiana, Jamaica, Victoria, Mauritius, Cape of Good Hope;—Mr. E. Hosking, Judge of the High Court of Burma;—Major-General C. W. R. Chester, B.S.C. (North-West Frontier 1863);—Colonel E. Meurant (Mutiny, Boer War 1881);—Lieut.-General Sir W. H. Goodenough (Indian Mutiny operations);—Sir Shamshir Parkash, Raja of Nahan, the representative of a great Rajput family, which has ruled Sirmur for seven centuries;—Lieut.-Colonel W. Briggs (Crimea, Egypt 1882);—Captain C. S. Cottingham, the Manchester Regiment (Sudan 1898);—Mr. C. J. Daniell, late Bengal Civil Service (Mutiny);—Sir Edward Lugard (Afghan War 1842, Sikh War 1845-46, Panjab 1848-49, Persia 1856-57, and Mutiny);—Lieut.-General C. W. Tremeneheere, C.B., Royal (late Bombay) Engineers (Indian Mutiny campaign);—General J. A. S. Faulknor (Sind, Afghanistan 1841-44);—Lieut.-Colonel T. T. Boileau, late East India Company's service (Panjab 1848-49, Mutiny—defence of Lucknow);—General W. A. Riach, Royal (Madras) Engineers (second Burmese War);—Brigade-Surgeon F. Pennington (Oude 1858-59, Ashanti 1873-74, Egypt 1882);—Surgeon-General W. C. Maclean, C.B., LL.D., M.D., Honorary Surgeon to the Queen (China 1840-42, and India);—Lieut.-Colonel B. Van Straubenzee (Sikh War 1848, Crimea, China 1858-60, suppression of the half-breed rising Canada 1885);—Lieut.-Colonel F. W. Reader (Afghan War 1878-79);—Captain F. S. Dugmore, British East Africa Protectorate (served in Canada, Bechuanaland, Uganda Mutiny);—Sir George Baden-Powell (formerly private

secretary to Sir G. Bowen, Governor of Victoria, served as Political Assistant Bechuanaland 1885);—Surgeon-General A. Smith, M.D., C.B., Honorary Physician to the Queen (Crimea, Jowaki-Afridi expedition 1877-78, Afghan War 1878-80);—Major-General H. K. Bushe, Indian Army (Belgaum 1857-58);—Major-General C. V. Bowie (Sutlej campaign 1845-46, Panjab War);—The Right Rev. H. J. Matthew, Bishop of Lahore;—Mr. G. W. Gowder, C.M.G., late Surveyor-General of South Australia;—Lieut.-Colonel T. Mayne, Indian Medical Service;—Stephen Jacob, Acting Financial Secretary of the Government of India;—Lieut. R. H. Raymond, Indian Staff Corps;—Lieut. A. W. Ralston (Dongola Expedition, 1896);—Col. B. Heygate, D.A.A.G. (Zulu War, Transvaal, 1881; Sudan, 1885);—His Highness the Maharajah of Darbhanga;—Major-General W. J. Vizard, late Madras Staff Corps.

17 December, 1898.

THE IMPERIAL
AND
Asiatic Quarterly Review,
AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD,
APRIL, 1899.

THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE AS A MODEL
FOR CUBA AND THE PHILIPPINES.

BY SIR JOHN JARDINE, K.C.I.E.

THE conquest of the Spanish islands in the East and West Indies, while arousing a world-wide interest, has raised issues of magnitude, and laid responsibilities of a new sort on the United States of America. Hitherto the Great Republic has managed its Red Indians in their reserves with partial success; it has brought the isolated Mormons of Utah under ordinary laws; and has at least been face to face with the grave problem arising from the millions of negroes, ever present and always multiplying. In parts of its ample space, it encloses communities of Creoles, French and Spanish by descent, religion and language. All these territories and peoples have been held together by the cast-iron bonds of the written federal constitution and the close pervading energy of the Anglo-Saxon: while the sovereign powers which each of the States enjoys have given free scope for special developments. The citizens make their own laws and breathe the air of freedom. Whereas in both Havana and Manila is felt the yoke of conquest, passions have been inflamed by rebellion as well as war, the aristocracy, both lay and clerical, has been levelled; and whole races, whether light or dark, in spiritual subjection to Rome, have come under a Protestant Power, whose principle is religious equality, whose instinct and experience alike abhor

such things as established Churches. For a time the American Generals and Governors will have to work in military fashion, even after Courts of Law are erected, in circumstances, if not *flagrante bello*, yet *non dum cessante bello*, the phrase which our Privy Council used of the Deccan some time after the battle of Kirkee, when Mountstuart Elphinstone ruled Bombay and Poona. Many an Indian province has passed through this stage, the Provost-Marshals and other officers of the army of occupation, men already familiar with the command of native troops, staying on as civil magistrates and judges over nations just delivered from oppression and grateful for staunch British justice, however rough and ready. In the Deccan of old, as in Upper Burma lately, such of the vanquished soldiery as held together gave much trouble as raiders, if not rebels, refusing to submit to civil justice without further fighting. But, as a rule, the period of transition is short ; and before long the black-coated civilian, trained to revenue settlements and criminal law, is sent to despatch such work, or to oversee the departments. Past experience of the prompt and decisive action of the Americans in the field allows the hope that this ordinary phase of administration will soon be reached, at least in Cuba and Puerto Rico, islands well known to many since the time of President Polk, and lying near the American coasts. Doubtless there are statesmen who have studied the laws and customs of those two populations, amounting to about 1,600,000 and 800,000 of Spaniards, Cubans and Negroes, which figures we may compare with the quarter of a million more or less of Hong Kong, British Guiana, the half-million of Jamaica, and the 3,300,000 of Ceylon. The Philippines with $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions compare with the $6\frac{1}{2}$ millions of Belgium and the 5 millions of Sweden, Mysore, or Assam. The Gaekwar of Baroda and the Maharajah of Kashmir each rule as many subjects as are found in the two West Indian islands ; and the Nizam of Hyderabad governs a population double that of the Philippines : while in broader contrast, the 70 millions of Lower

Bengal outnumber the dwellers in the United States, the 47 millions in the North West Provinces and Oude compare with the German Empire, and the 20 millions of the Punjab with Spain and Portugal together. The inference, however, from these big figures would be misleading: as many portions of the Indian Empire have been acquired bit by bit, and the consolidation has been gradual. Thus, the problems of civil administration which will arise as soon as the Temple of Janus is really shut are, for the Americans, the same to all intents and purposes as have been solved in India. They have, unfortunately, no class of men analogous to the officers of the Indian Army, who, being familiar with the natives already, could easily settle down as governors in each new native territory as it fell under our arms. It seems likely, therefore, that those high duties in such matters as civil and criminal justice, land revenue, Customs and Excise, as well as the relations with foreign Powers and Malay chiefs, will at a rather early period be discharged by civilian officers, as happened in Java and other islands of Netherlands India, when our Governor-General Lord Minto, in 1811, took them from the French, and appointed Sir Stamford Raffles as his lieutenant to govern them. For five years they were managed as a province of India. Raffles soon reformed the Dutch system, which had become backsliding and oppressive. The system of courts and of village police which he modelled on those of India still remain, as also the far-reaching policy whereby native customs are administered as law. But while the Dutch admit that he bestowed great boons on Java, they have found it advisable, and indeed required by native conditions and sentiments, to abolish his ryotwaree settlement, whereby the Government took rent directly from each peasant owner of land, and to return to dealings with them collectively as village communities through their headmen. They have also restored the old custom of forced labour in lieu of part of the rent.

It is generally agreed that the Dutch Governor-General

Van der Bosch, who modified the system left by Raffles, was a ruler of the highest capacity ; and though the "culture system" is not much relished by Anglo-Indian critics, more than one testify that the great mass of agriculturists in Java are manifestly in a far better material condition than our own ryots. This view is propounded by Mr. Money in his "Java, or How to Manage a Colony," a work recommended to me by Mr. Alexander Fraser, who, as our former Consul-General at Batavia and an owner of landed estate, is well entitled to an opinion, the more so as he is acquainted with the language and literature of Holland. My friend Mr. Henry Scott Boys, late of the Bengal Civil Service, also comes to the conclusion that India has much to learn in both judicial and revenue methods. In his modest but impartial little book, "Some Notes on Java," he tells us that the great questions relating to Indian land tenures, "which a hundred years ago were partly similar to those which have from time to time arisen in Java, have not been dealt with in the manner best calculated to secure the happiness of the people. The denationalization of the land, which from the time of Lord Cornwallis till the present day has been more and more completely effected, has resulted in the aggrandizement of a class of wealthy landlords and middlemen at the expense of the cultivator of the soil, and we have surrendered that splendid position as owners of the land which enables the Dutch to appropriate for State purposes the whole rental of the country, and to insure that that rental shall always be so moderate in amount as to enable the peasant to pass his days in comfort and without care." That Mr. Boys is right in his estimate of evils is shown by the trend of our legislation. The Executive Government has of late years changed its policy and done much to save the ignorant peasant owners of land from being ruined by their own imprudence at the hands of money-lenders, whom our earlier laws empowered to sell the fields on mere decrees for debt. In such matters the Executive has wisely listened to the Judges of the High-

Court, who had long ago, carefully but cautiously, applied the milder rules of English equity to soften the rigour of the British Indian statutes. America has drawn largely from the same fountain of justice, and the works of Chief Justice Story are authorities in India. The original sin lay in the civilians seeing Indian affairs with English eyes, and carrying European notions into Indian practice, as Mr. Thackeray wrote in 1807, in a comment on Lord Cornwallis's permanent settlement of Bengal. In Mill's "History," Bk. VI., Chap. V., is found the story of that blundering reform of 1789. It was opposed by Warren Hastings; and even Sir John Shore tried to limit it to a ten years' term, but Lord Cornwallis "avowed his intention of establishing an aristocracy upon the European model," and so the unearned increment of the fertile Gangetic plain was made over to a set of tax-collectors, the Zamindars being mistaken for lords of the soil. It was only by good luck, the result of delays, that the extension of this policy to Madras was prevented. From my own experience as a Secretary to Indian Governments, I incline to the view of Sir John Shore, that the grievous misunderstandings of that time were due rather to ignorance of Bengal and its people than to what Mill calls the aristocratical ideas of the aristocratical personage, then Governor-General. Shore complains that the civil servants had to learn finance by rule of thumb. They had not studied principles; and being too often shifted from one district to another, and burdened by official forms and the constant pressure of business, they had little time to get local and practical knowledge. Serious subjects were seldom thrashed out; and when they had been, the results were of little avail, as the new-comer could not lay hands on them in the smothering mass of records. We have lately listened to much the same opinions spoken in firm but kindly words by Lord George Hamilton. He has frowned on the endless official reports with grim good humour. He knows that the tendency of Cutcherry work to increase deprives the young civilian of

the leisure which ought to be spent among the people, an important matter glanced at in a former article of mine in this Review.* Some remedy surely may be found. As the Indian law now provides that, after reasonable lapse of time, trivial records shall be torn up, so the Local Governments might every five years take stock of needless increase of work and lop it off.

A fair example is found in the system of appeals about succession to the village offices in the Bombay Presidency, which are hereditary freeholds, shared by the family in coparcenary. The delays of judgment led to so much intrigue, corruption and expense, that in 1874 it was enacted that there should be only one appeal as of right. To meet the few cases where extraordinary remedy may be wanted, the Bombay Government were granted the same special powers of revision which the High Courts exercise very sparingly in civil and criminal justice. As the draughtsman of the Act, I can say that the opinion of all the able Revenue officers consulted was, that this high jurisdiction should be seldom used. However, some years afterwards a Secretary told me that it had become as much a matter of course as a first appeal : which means that, after two solemn decisions on a small and common matter, the Governor and his Council are ready to rehear the case, and to worry the Mamlutdar, the Assistant Collector, the Collector, and the Commissioner to write studied reports one after the other upon its details. Were a High Court to act in this way, all its ordinary work would be stopped, and the pure wine of justice would by dire delay turn sour as vinegar in the mouths of the suitors.

But an example like this only touches the fringe. The root of the matter lies far deeper, in the climate of India, which reduces the covenanted civilian's set term of service to 25 years. It was said long ago : " If the East India Company's servants go young to India, they cannot carry

* Imperial Parliament Supreme in India, *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, July, 1898.

with them much general financial information ; if they go to India advanced in life, they will never acquire local and practical knowledge." This reasoning explains why many officers, eager to apply equity to shelter the peasant from the little tyrant of his fields, are often perplexed, that jurisprudence being a science in itself. Much was done, however, in the later years of the East India Company to prepare its servants for the work before them. The Marquis Wellesley passed a law to establish the Writers' College at Calcutta. Looking back on his conquests in Mysore and the Deccan, his devout mind was convinced that "the sacred duty, true interest, honour, and policy of the British nation" required that the men who were to govern "populous and opulent provinces and various nations" should be made fit for their high calling by qualifying in the laws and languages of India. That great man's successors took an equal interest in the college, and the Directors at home, who had boggled at its expense, found it desirable to set up their famous college of Haileybury in Hertfordshire, where, under the teaching of eminent professors like Malthus and Mackintosh, the embryo civilians learned law, history, and political economy, as well as the classic and modern languages of the East. In 1813 Parliament enacted that no writer, as the young civilian was called, should be sent to India unless he had kept four terms ; and the college lasted till 1858, when it was closed by another Act, as the era of appointment by open competition had begun. The Directors thus lost their patronage of the Indian service, which was thrown open to all natural-born subjects of the Queen, without distinction of race or religion, throughout the realm and all the Colonies. In 1833 the question of maintaining Haileybury was several times before the House of Commons, as the Directors had grumbled at the annual cost, and urged that the national Universities were better places for training their servants than their own special institute. It was argued also that a share of the writer-ships should be offered to the Universities. As time went

on, the public mind grew satisfied that a wide and liberal education is the best foundation on which to build up a special and local knowledge; and on this ground-plan the service has been recruited for above 40 years.

In older times the Company's officers started without such advantages; the commercial training and the practice of bargaining and investing were, taking the men all round, more befitting the warehouse and the factory than the bench of justice or the council hall of government. We must remember these things in recalling the mistakes and failures, of which I have given some examples in order to qualify the compliment lying in a demand made on me by a prominent American citizen anxious about the Spanish colonies, in these terms: "Send me a history of the Indian Civil Service, showing how it has attained its present efficiency." Indeed, a history dealing with three centuries is required as answer to such an inquiry. The steady upward progress began soon after Clive's victory at Plassy Grove in 1757 had given us the virtual dominion of Bengal. The steps were: the forbidding the civilians to indulge in trade on their own account, the creation of judicial and fiscal offices separate from the Company's trade, the fixing of salaries and pensions in due proportion to the duties and temptations arising in an Oriental country, the final ban of all trading and receipt of presents, the ordering that the native laws and languages should be studied, the education of colleges and Universities. These changes were forced on the Directors by a series of great rulers: Clive, Hastings, Cornwallis, Wellesley, Elphinstone, Macaulay, are among the prominent names. They insisted on the need of a highly-trained service, which should have a monopoly of appointments, to prevent the evil and discouraging influence of jobbery, a practice as audacious in England then as it is in some of the States of America still. By these means the local administration of India was lifted out of a sort of commercial quagmire, and at last a fresh prestige was gained when the servants of the great Company became those of the Crown.

Before adverting to some of the peculiar features of the islands lost to the sovereignty of Spain, it is convenient to pass in quick review the shifting scenes of Anglo-Indian story. Many glimpses at the times when George the Third was King, and views of men and deeds which the traditions of Bombay and Calcutta still keep in mind, will be found in such books as the "Memoirs of a Griffin," Dr. Buist's "Echoes of Old Calcutta," Mr. James Douglas' delightful "Book of Bombay," and other such-like works on the shelves of American libraries. But to deal fully with the East Indian Civil Service we must go back to the reign of Elizabeth and the Company's first charter of 1600 A.D. The journals of the early voyages, full of adventures new and strange, are enshrined in the first volume of "Purchas his Pilgrims." Those spacious times were crowded with daring and enterprise: men's minds were startled by the discovery of America and the route round the Cape, by the Protestant Reformation, the Spanish Armada, and the heroic struggle in Holland against Catholic tyranny and bloodshed. Foreign commerce was carried on in ships of war, and the high spirit of our Island Queen awakened the same bravery and confidence in her subjects as Oliver Cromwell's foreign policy in later years. We are tempted here to take an example from Spanish romance. In one of his minor novels Cervantes makes an English knight sue for the hand of a maid of honour. The imperious Queen, interposing, exclaims, "How dare you ask such favour who have done naught for my State or me? Take an English man-of-war, conquer a Spanish galleon, and then, but not till then, come back to my Court." All which the young lover does. Now, it was two such prize-takings on the high seas which aroused England seriously to the Indian trade; the capital was soon found by London merchants, and Lords and Knights came forward as patrons and warlike leaders in the new crusade. Thus, at the very start we find ourselves in touch with men of the two types who founded the American colonies: the chivalrous and

fighting sort to which Drake, Lancaster, and the two Middletons belong, and the sedate traders of the City who inclined to Puritan views of life, men like Milton's father, the scrivener. The Company supported some of the followers of Frobisher, Davis, Hudson, and Baffin to find a route to India by the Arctic pole. The Levant Company had done so too. But these endeavours proving fruitless, the Merchant Adventurers decided to brave the Portuguese and follow them round the Cape of Hope, like the venturous argosies of Amsterdam. At times the ships parted or miscarried, or the Captain was imprisoned, and sometimes Cheapside was all astir with news like this: "Two ships sent on the English Company's tenth voyage defeated four Portuguese galleons and twenty-six frigates from Goa, which were sent in pursuit of them, to the great joy of the natives of Surat, who hated the tyrannical Portuguese." The robust side of English character, common in the Tudor and Stuart reigns, when men had to take sides and learn to suffer and to die, was shown time after time by the merchants and factors, ordinary trading men, whom the captains took out and left in Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Celebes, Japan, Surat, and the Coromandel Coast of India. They were tough enough, brave, and resourceful, but seemingly ill-educated, ill-paid, rather quarrelsome, and with the natives often dangerously overbearing. To eke out their frugal pittances, their London masters let them do some private trade, which was like trying to serve God and mammon; and as the system spread in a century and a half from the Malay and Indian ports to the rich inland districts of Bengal, it became a political evil.

In 1620 we find the President of the Batavia factory, harassed by the rival Dutch, complaining of the disorderly behaviour of his own people, and asking for absolute authority to keep them in bounds. By no means strait-laced, many of these men inclined to drink and lewdness. Some were dishonest, others incapable. At this period and for the next two centuries the chief talents sought for in

the Company's agents were a knowledge of accounts and a keenness in exchanging the goods of England for those of the Malay Islands, China, and India. A pleasanter order of life is depicted in the account which Mandelslo gives of his entertainment in our factory at Surat in 1638, the headquarters of our trade in India and Persia. The Chaplain said Divine Service twice a day. All the wives being left in England, the merchants drank their health every Friday in wine or pale punch, which famous beverage, Mr. Wheeler says, was their own invention. On Sundays after sermon they went to a fair garden without the city. The old house still stands, being, when I last saw it, the dwelling of a Parsee doctor. Dr. Fryer was there in 1674. The factory was a busy, bustling place, managed like a merchant prince's abode on the bank of the Thames. The President lived in state, a great man. Next to him came the Accountant: "he is quasi-treasurer, signing all things, though the broker keeps the cash. Next him is the Warehouse-keeper, who registers all Europe goods vended, and receives all Eastern commodities brought. Under him is the Purser Marine," who saw to shipping and seamen; and last of all the Secretary. It is out of trading houses like these that our Indian Governments have been born. The President, with his Accountant, Warehouse-keeper, and Purser, has become Governor in Council. When I joined the Indian Civil Service at Bombay in 1864, we were listed in seniority as writers, factors, and merchants, the words used in the earliest letters of the seventeenth century. For as Fryer writes, "The whole mass of the Company's servants may be comprehended in these classes, viz., merchants, factors, and writers; some Blue-coat boys have also been entertained under notion of apprentices for seven years, which being expired, if they can get security, they are capable of employment." The writers got £10 per annum, the merchants £40, the Accountant £72, and the President £500, with free lodgings and victuals. A covenant was given for good behaviour, as is the present practice, with security for £1,000.

Turn we now to Bengal a century later, and we find the old order changing. I pass over the time of Clive, himself originally a writer, when, as Macaulay tells us, the merchant servants had become in truth Proconsuls and Pro-prætors of broad regions, with immense power and far too small regular pay. They were using not for their employers, but for themselves, a monopoly of almost the whole internal trade. Clive closed this avenue to gigantic fortunes, and as the Directors would not raise the salaries, he assigned the proceeds of the salt monopoly to support those servants. The whole story is told by Sir John Malcolm and by James Mill. Mr. Harry Verelst, who succeeded Clive, had served his apprenticeship in the commercial line before taking control of some ceded districts. He knew well both his own service and the native world. He told in able minutes how the sudden ascendancy of the English had changed the status of a colony of merchants, working on principles merely commercial and selfish. Under the forms of a native government he found himself Mayor of the Palace, the real ruler : and so he went the length of sending his civil servants to sit over the Persian and other hirelings who were ruining Bengal. The Supervisors are the earlier form of our present Prefects, the Collector and Deputy Commissioner. I quote from Verelst's minute : "The service at present affords many young men of promising parts and abilities. As the Supervisorships may be called a nursery for them, in respect to the government of the country, so in like manner their experience in commercial matters before they reach Council must bring them acquainted with our commercial interest ; and as these are the grand foundation and support of our prosperity, they must be deemed the essential part of their education." He knew that the native Zamindars or tax-collectors supported their own "avarice, ambition, pride, vanity, or intemperance," by fleecing the peasantry : and to get the English to know something of the realms they ruled, he ordered them to "make the minutest local investi-

gations." Like the dying Goethe, he cried, "Let in more light." This was in 1769.

For a vivid picture of civilian life in Bengal in the transition period, I may refer the reader to the annals of the Hon. Robert Lindsay (the brother of the authoress of "Auld Robin Gray"), pleasantly told by himself in the "Lives of the Lindsays." He entered the service in 1772 after learning business in the counting-house of his uncle, a wine-shipper at Cadiz, and retired in 1789 with an ample fortune to an estate near the castle of his fathers, the Scottish Earls of Balcarres, where he lived till 1859. Warren Hastings was Governor-General when he went out. He had to study Persian, which we had taken over as an official language from the Great Mogul. Lindsay was, in spite of general orders, allowed to speculate on his own account. He declares with evident relish that he found his Cadiz training of much use to him. With an advance of £20,000 from a native, he made enough profit on salt to pay off his debts and put by some thousands of rupees at Dacca. Again, at Sylhet, he contracts with Government to buy up the cowry shells, the currency in which the revenue was paid, and the command of money so acquired is the basis of his wealth. Moreover, he opens up a trade in lime, and finding that the wild elephants of his forests are of "the best description," he has them caught and hawked over all India by a trusty native at the princely courts, and so puts by more and more. One day on the Ganges his boat hails another Scottish civilian, who hands him some Caledonian newspapers. There he finds an estate advertised for sale, with liberty to defer payment of the cash. "I therefore without a moment's delay despatched a letter to my mother, vesting her with full authority to purchase." The Countess seized the happy moment, and the amiable and canny Nabob gets "the estate of Leuchars for £31,000, which most assuredly is now worth double the amount or more." The career of Lindsay, however, must not be taken as a type. He owed

something to luck as well as merit ; but Fortune, the fickle goddess, often frowned on the trading civilians. Take the record of John Spencer, for instance, the thwarter and rival of Clive. "He enjoyed the most lucrative posts at Bombay, held the Government of Bengal for some time, and died insolvent in 1766, a great trader."

In Sir T. E. Colebrooke's "Life of Elphinstone," we find that statesman, then a lad just over seventeen, landed at Calcutta in 1796 as a writer, and sent up at once to his brother at Benares. He passed no tests, but had just come from a boarding-school at Kensington, furnishing his cabin, however, as he writes to his mother, with "25 large volumes containing 2 or 3 novels each, and the British Classics, same size, 5 vols., containing such things as the *Spectator*, *Guardian*, *Rambler*; and Mundell's Poets, containing every good British poet, and the 'Encyclopædia Britannica.'" When in 1801 Lord Wellesley's college was started, the studious youth got himself transferred to Calcutta to attend it: his increasing habit of hard work and wide reading prepared him for his great commands. The transition period was now drawing near its close. The scholarly Wellesley picked out the ablest youngsters, and used them as secretaries all the long Indian day, dictating to them his orders and despatches to the seats of wars; and the tradition lingers that as the cool evenings fell, he kept them to dinner as close companions and trusty helpers. In the stirring times that followed, this knot of men rose rapidly to distinction. Among Wellesley's Boys, as they were called, were Mr. W. Butterworth Bayley, who acted as Governor-General in 1828; Lord Metcalfe, who in his tenure of that office gave liberty to the Press, and who became in after-years Governor-General of Canada; and Sir Richard Jenkins, who in the last Maratha War saved the situation at Nagpur. From the Wellesley period also we date the origin of the Civil Funds, which out of payments by the service, aided by State subsidies, provide those retiring pensions and certain

annuities for widows and orphans, which have ever since been considered more than compensation for the uncertain profits of trade. I am not aware of the orders issued in Bengal ; but when I was manager of the Bombay Fund, I gathered from its records that in 1805 many Bombay civilians on being put to election chose to remain as partners in private firms, one of them being a Judge drawing 24,000 rupees a year. For some time after, such persons might, when it suited them, jump back from private trade to good official posts ; and in 1815 the Governor in Council styles these partners in "houses of agency as only nominally in the service, and rivals of the East India Company in commercial pursuits." All this must have been known to Elphinstone, who had in the newly-conquered Deccan to solve the same problem as Verelst did in Bengal, and chose for working it out the ablest men in the Bombay Army rather than the ordinary Revenue officers, hide-bound in routine. In this time of history Thackeray, who had Indian connections, places Mr. Joseph Sedley, the hero of *Vanity Fair*, as Collector of Boggley-Wollah, whose foibles give a wrong impression, to be effaced by what is said in the "Four Georges" of a Judge Cleveland, a real person who died young in 1784, after civilizing the wild regions of Boglipoor. Bishop Heber gives us a drawing of the temple which the Hindus built over Cleveland's grave for holding religious feasts to his memory. The good Bishop, as he went about the country, found the local officers devoted and amiable men, but some of them, he says, treated the better classes of natives with English hauteur. This national trait also came out in episcopalian attempts to prevent marriages by the rites of the Presbyterian Churches, although Dundas (Viscount Melville) had, when Minister for India, done all that in him lay to stock the services with Scotsmen. Again, in 1832, when the Directors were forced to pay for Bishops at Bombay and Madras out of Indian taxes, to guard the morals of the public servants, all that Parliament conceded

was two Presbyterian chaplains at each Presidency. The Company protested in vain that these measures were belated, as Anglo-Indian ethics had recovered since the time of Burke and the detested Nabobs. It was useless to prove that the Bishopric at Calcutta had increased expenses from £48,000 to above £100,000 a year, and raised clerical pensions from £800 to £5,000 a year. Concurrent endowment was made the remedy for Anglo-Indian vice, and is still maintained by Act of Parliament. This culmination seems a fitting point for closing this my sketchy answer to the wide question of my friend across the Atlantic.

It may be predicted that the alert common-sense of American statesmen will lead to such measures in their new possessions as were taken by Elphinstone in the Deccan and by Sir Arthur Phayre after Lower Burma had fallen to our arms. The bulk of existing law will probably be left unabrogated, while enlightened policy will ensure the speedy reduction of the heavy taxation and the removal of those galling restraints on civil and religious liberty which made the Spanish Church and State so bitterly hated in Cuba. No excuse can tolerate the sale of public employments; and whatever may happen to the *rentas ecclesiasticas*, the revenue got by clippings from salaries will be willingly given up. The administrative divisions into Talukas and Districts under Capitans and Alcaldes Mayores will most likely remain; and the old system of ruling the Chinese in Luzon through their head-men may be found as useful in the future as the past. A nation that has welded Florida and Alaska into the Union will find abundant expedients of statecraft to make the people of the Antilles and the Philippines content under the starry flag. But the result of the war nevertheless adds much to the gravity of that burning question, Civil Service Reform. Much too will depend on the way the President uses his patronage of still higher offices. He has no order of Peers to provide for; and he can as easily thrust aside the Tapers and Tadpoles of parties, as George Canning did when he invited the East

Indian Directors to choose whom they pleased among three Scots commoners of "extraordinary zeal and ability" to be Governor of Bombay, namely, Sir John Malcolm, Mr. Elphinstone and Sir Thomas Munro. The passing traveller finds the benign rule of these distinguished men fondly cherished in the countries they governed, devout natives still using language closely resembling our blind poet's praise of the heroes of the Commonwealth :

"Such as Thou hast solemnly elected,
With gifts and graces eminently adorned,
To some great work, Thy glory,
And people's safety, which in part they effect."

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA AND ITS SUBJECTS.

By R. C.

I.

IN these days we are puzzling our brains over the frequency and ease with which, in various parts of India, scares are propagated, and the readiness with which wild stories are believed. We have been in the habit of saying that, though sedition and discontent exist, the mass of the population have faith in, and liking for, the British Government. Yet we see these loyal and trusting people infected with shrinking and suspicion. What is wrong? Who is to blame? is a question which many experienced officers—many loyal subjects—both European and native, are asking themselves. On this question I shall endeavour to throw light from the point of view of a Bengal civilian of the present day.

We have to begin by thoroughly realizing the fact that the Indian Government and its Indian subjects are two—not one. The Government in England springs from, is inspired by, changes with, and is an integral part of, the people whom it governs. The Government when it loses the confidence of the people must retire, making way for another possessing that confidence. The Government of India, on the other hand, is derived from, and supported and inspired by, the British nation. If it loses the confidence of the people, it remains, and must win that confidence back.

The medium through whom touch is kept between the Government of India and its subjects is the District Officer. It is said, and I think truly, that the District Officer of the present day does not hold the confidence of the people so strongly as those who went before him. Passing by many debatable reasons for this, I desire to show that one substantial cause is a change which has been taking place in his position, the general effect of which has been to destroy

mutual familiarity between him and his people, and to weaken his authority.

Before discussing the change, I shall try in a few words to describe the District Officer in his relation to the Government and to the people. I confine myself to one Province, that of Lower Bengal. The area of this Province is 150,000 square miles, and its population 73 millions. It is divided into 49 Administrative Districts, over each of which is a District Officer. These again are subdivided into 133 districts, known as subdivisions. Thus the average population of districts is nearly one and a half millions, and of subdivisions over half a million. To compare with other parts of the world, the population of a subdivision is larger than that of a county in Great Britain, or a Bishop's charge in England, equal to that of the Straits Settlement or Jamaica, and far exceeding that of South Australia, Queensland, or British Guiana. District differs from district in language, nature and customs far more than county from county in the British Isles, Cuttack, Gya, Rungpore and Chittagong are wider apart in every way than Devon, Connemara, Aberdeen, and Durham. The District Officer has a double function—that of political agent, with which we have now more especially to do, and that of executive chief of Government business in his district. I wish to say a few words in explanation of his position as a political agent, a position liable to be ignored or misunderstood in England.

The supreme power in a State must have an agency through which to exert its influence. In self-governing Britain, the supreme power rests with the people themselves, both governing and governed. It is asserted at the centre of action—that is what is known as the Government—by means of their representatives in Parliament. The great strength of the British Parliamentary system is that Members of Parliament, though depending on their constituencies for election, are not mere delegates or mouth-pieces, but are in trust, free to act as they think best. They

can thus manage the affairs of the nation in a more business-like way than if they were mere mouthpieces of others at a distance. Through these representatives of the people, who control the Government, is kept the touch, between Government and people, essential to all civilized government.

In India the Government, as in England, is the centre of action, but the supreme power lies, not as in England with the people governed, but in the British nation. The despotic principle, according to which the supreme power is vested in some other than the people governed, prevails throughout the East, and the Government of India may thus be said to be a despotism. The Government, not being in touch with the people through their controlling representatives, must have representatives of its own for conveying between Government and people, though in the reverse direction, the necessary current of influence. Its agents or representatives are the District Officers, the same who are also its executive. Whereas, the Members of Parliament are chosen by various constituencies, and sent up to become members of one body, District Officers are appointed by one authority as members of one body, and go out singly to deal with various parts of the country. Their work of keeping touch between Government and people can only be satisfactorily done if, like the Member of Parliament, they act as representatives, and not mere delegates or mouthpieces. It is even less easy for a District Officer to do his duty in this respect, if only a delegate, than it would be for a Member of Parliament, for the many constituents may control their single delegate, but the control of the single ruler over many delegates must drift into the hands of underlings and clerks. This, then, is the position of the District Officer—head of all Government business in an area with a population equal to that of three British counties, and the medium for keeping touch between the Government and that population. I have said that a change has been taking place in his position, whose effect

has been to destroy his familiarity with his people, and to weaken his authority over them. I shall now try to describe that change.

The two main preventable causes, which destroy the District Officer's familiarity with his people, are that he is moved about too much, and that he is burdened with too heavy duties. The accepted limit to an officer's stay in one place is five years. So often is that period cut short by sickness, leave, promotion, restlessness, or other causes, that the term seldom in practice exceeds three years. Now the native, especially the rustic, is reserved and suspicious. Even among the educated minority we quickly find that the smooth politeness and well-bred cordiality, which greet the new ruler, are really a screen to hide their feelings and not a demonstration of them. But the shyness and reserve of the rustic masses is greater still, and before they have made up their mind to place their confidence in the new "hákim," behold! he is gone. There are things that can, and, amid the vast population of India, must, be done in a wholesale way; but the work of winning confidence is not one of those things. It is personal, and must be done between man and man. To gain the confidence of so great a number of souls as the inhabitants of a single district is work for an official lifetime, and not for the short term allowed. And the worst of it is that officer and people alike are tempted to accept, as inevitable, their mutual estrangement, and give up the thought of putting an end to it. Besides the disadvantage of having too short a time to gain the confidence of his people, the District Officer labours under the additional disadvantage that he is burdened with heavy executive duties. If one of his people asks for his time and attention as a litigant, a criminal, a rogue, a tax-payer, an official, a contractor, or, in a word, on business of one of the many varieties he is supposed to look after, they must be given. But if the person come as a simple subject of the Queen, to talk, he is, unless a man of high position, shown the door. This is not because the

District Officer would not often like a talk with such a man. One gets very sick of having to do with no one who is not wanting something, or wanted himself—but there is no time. In old days

“When amla* wrote, and judges only signed”

leisure was not always used to the best advantage, but at all events there was leisure. Leisure, however, no longer exists for most District Officers.

Whereas the size of the District of to-day is the same as that of the District forty years ago, there has been an immense expansion of work. There is, first, the natural expansion due to increase of population and wealth, and the spread of good communications and education. There is the further expansion by the opening or enlargement during the last forty years of new fields of work, such as education, roads, sanitation, statistical inquiries, land settlements, local government, forests, gaols, police, famine-relief—all of which, as well as other branches of work not named here, demand attention from the District Officer in his own District. The headquarters staff of the Province, and the subordinate staff in the District have been largely increased to cope with the increased work, but, far from the District Officer getting help for his increased task, the reduction of the superior staff of the districts, in order to provide men for special work (*e.g.*, settlements) and for other provinces (*e.g.*, Burmah), has thrown on him personally of late years more of this increased duty than ought in ordinary circumstances to have fallen to his share.

Another cause of increase of work is elaboration of methods. Everything now has to be done by rules and manuals. Records and registers are kept up where there used to be none; pages are written where a line would have done; long accounts are kept; frequent returns submitted; processes and signatures multiply like bacilli; and the air is dark with the locust-flights of correspondence.

Again, there has been a concentration of authority at

* Clerks.

Provincial headquarters, whence the 16 or more heads of departments regulate and control the work in the districts. This means that, before he can do anything, the District Officer must write a long report, and very often carry on a tedious correspondence. There is frequently far more worry and trouble in getting leave to do a thing than would be needed for doing it. Records have to be made more elaborate, for everything is liable to be appealed against, or revised by someone who knows certainly not much, probably nothing at all, of local circumstances, and who, without full explanations, is likely to misunderstand the case. Then when all is over, what has been done, the how, the why, and all about it has to be carefully reported and explained. All this is almost inevitable as a consequence of the shifting of finality from the District Officer to Provincial headquarters.

The thirst for information, which seems to be as natural to modern Governments as the desire for travel is to modern populations, is responsible for another large class of work—the periodical census, the collection of vital statistics, crop statistics, and statistics of all sorts, and yearly, quarterly, monthly, weekly and daily reports and returns on all sorts of subjects. In obtaining, correcting, compiling, forwarding, explaining and criticising all these, mountains of correspondence are heaped up.

Then if any high authority “wants to know,” there goes forth a flight of circulars which have to be answered. Every District Officer simultaneously has to pause in whatever he may be doing, and turn his attention to the Gangetic porpoise, the consumption of ghee (clarified butter), or the best pattern for a dynamite magazine. Or it may be a Bill before the legislature, the working of a rule, or the alteration of a form. These interruptions are small, but frequent and irritating. One more tax on the District Officer's time may be mentioned, and that is the lawyer. It is usual to employ lawyers, and most people being able to afford but a poor fee, get a poor lawyer, that

is, a man who blusters, asks foolish questions, fights hopeless points, and says badly in an hour what a good lawyer would say well in five minutes. Valued according as he shouts and spins out his case, he wastes public time accordingly. In listening to the twaddle of men like these, much valuable time has to be thrown away.

I think I have said enough to prove that the District Officer's duties, as executive servant of Government, are very heavy compared with what they used to be. As the climate has not changed, nor the day lengthened, they naturally absorb more of his time and energy, and cause him to neglect his political duties, which do not come into departmental returns.

There still remains an important cause of estrangement between the District Officer and his people, and that is the weakening of his power. Among the changes which, in the name of modern progress, have been taking place, during the past forty years, has been the decay of the system of personal government—the old “*má-báp*” system, as it is called. Many, many old things are being cast aside as obsolete. “New lamps for old!” is a cry very often heard, and one of the old lamps which are being bartered away is the old “*má-báp*” system. But it was the “father and mother” in the old District Officer—the absolute, just, discriminating and sympathetic rule of the *parent*—which won the people's confidence. They got from him, without fuss, form, fee, or delay the help, advice, or information, they needed, which had that wholesome belief in his *power*, without which, in an uncivilized country such as this was, and still to a great extent is, all the benevolence in the world is not worth a rush. The high ideal of the old method has most likely never been fully attained, but the names of those who came nearest ring in the hearts of the people whose love and fear they won, to the third and fourth generation.

In order that the benefit of this system may be gained, the District Officer, however much secretly under discipline,

must appear before the people as a man quick to see, willing to help the right, and smite the wrong, and with full authority to do as he thinks right, of his own accord. If he doubts, hesitates, delays, or says or shows that he would, but cannot, or that he is obliged to do what he would rather not, much of his influence must necessarily be gone, and people cease to regard him. The crippling of his authority has been proceeding at some speed during the last forty years, and I will very shortly describe some of the principal causes.

The first I will mention is the activity of the legislature, the expansion of the law-courts, and the accumulation of precedents, which have turned him, from an "incarnation," as the people used to call him, of justice, into its instrument and humble servant. The "incarnation"—the law-court—which has of late years ousted him—has dwarfed his power in this field without taking his place. The law-courts are so unaggressive, and wanting in initiative; surrounded on every side by storms of intrigue and battle which nevertheless, as the phrase goes "they cannot take cognizance of," that the common folk have far more confidence in money and a clever lawyer than in the judge and a just cause. The rich man and the lawyer, who pull the strings, are becoming to many the real "incarnation of justice." By this change, the District Officer is excluded from a part of his old field. In another large part of it he has been retained to work as a subordinate.

There are some sixteen departments of the executive work of Government, each with its head at the provincial headquarters, in which so many laws, rules and circulars have been issued, and so strong a control retained in the hands of the departmental heads, that the District Officer has little more freedom of action than the Liliputians left Gulliver. He can no longer speak as one "having authority," but must refer, or report, or, more frequently, pass on the orders of the departmental heads. The staff placed under him are appointed, and their promotion and

discipline retained in the hands of the departmental heads, whose favour and not that of the District Officer their ambition is to gain. It is so obvious to his people that instead of being a chief in this business he is now a subordinate whose prestige is bound to suffer.

Then again there is less finality, and, consequently, weight, in the orders he passes about such business of Government as is still left in his control. In the beginning of the century, a deputation who went up to complain against the Government officer at Midnapore were sent back in irons. Now it is the permitted practice to appeal against nearly every order that is passed. The District Officer's actions are challenged and criticised at every turn; he is frequently put on his defence, and made to answer his critics. In the preparation of appeal petitions, many hard words are used about the officer, and the group of villagers who sit around the writer must be highly edified to see all this hard language openly presented to the higher authorities, listened to with judicial calmness, and, in general, drawing from them neither reprimand nor remark. The continual repetition of this sort of thing, and the hostile tone of the native press must in time sap the feeling of reverence for the District Officer on which his influence greatly depends. The process, so far, has been slow and partial; but the boulder, once dislodged, loses little time in gathering way.

There is one more part of the District Officer's vineyard in which his hand has been restricted. We have some 49 District Officers, and most of these live in towns. Each in his own town was once in the habit of putting down nuisances, and making improvements. It was the same, in a different degree, with regard to his District. As he went touring about, things would be brought to his notice, and he would put them right. Nowadays, in the name of Local Self-Government, the town has its municipal committee, in which the District Officer has no more a part, and to them has been transferred the power he used to

have of putting down nuisances and making improvements. In the District he has still control, but only as chairman of a Board, of which he is probably the only member locally acquainted with the area in its charge. To the Boards and Municipal Committees belong the appointment and control of the various servants who do their work, and the people see, that on this side also a power has risen which excludes or dilutes the influence of the District Officer.

I have endeavoured, in describing these various ways in which the District Officer's authority is crippled, to state the facts, without discussing how far they are inevitable, how far the result of drift, and how far of policy, and whether the policy be good or bad. The Government has been losing prestige, whether or not there be compensations or remedies, and the effects of its loss are beginning to show themselves.

II.

There are those who look on the District Officer as an anachronism, to be laid aside, or shorn of what power remains to him. So long, however, as the British Government continues to hold despotic power in India—and there seems no immediate probability of the supporting and inspiring base of the Government being shifted from Great Britain to India—it has need of men, as explained at the beginning of this paper, to convey its influence to the people. The combination in the District Officer of the functions of political agent and head of the local executive, and the smothering out of his work as a political agent by the transformation I have just been describing, have doubtless given rise to a belief that his usefulness as a political agent is at an end. As yet, however, he holds the field, and there is no one ready to take his place. The practical question, therefore, is, having the District Officer installed as political agent, how we are to make him efficient. I shall now offer a few observations on this question, straying as little as possible into speculation, and sticking as closely as I can to existing facts.

I shall assume that the present method of choosing the District Officer is the best, and pass by all such interesting questions as whether the men should not be chosen older, with made reputations ; whether natives of India should be admitted ; whether the proper tests are applied, and the like. The present system is that the officer enters as a young man, and spends from twenty-five to thirty-five years in the active service of Government, and then retires.

The first part of his career should consist of a thorough training, making him familiar with the conditions of his work, and teaching him to command through a long course of obedience. This training should last for ten years, being completed towards the end, by a trial as substitute for some senior officer absent from his District. As soon after this as there is a vacancy, he should get a District of his own. Owing to dearth of officers, districts have been given of late years far too early, before the training was complete. By the end of ten years, if he has not wasted his time, the young man—now over thirty years of age—will have seen a good deal of the country ; learnt the substance of the laws, rules and routine of business ; and the language, manners, customs and ways of thought of the people in their homes and villages. Having been appointed to his District he should be, contrary to the present practice, *wedded* to it—permanently attached to it—never to exchange it for another, unless for some exceptional and urgent reason. His connection with it should ordinarily be severed only by promotion or by his service coming to an end. By this permanent attachment the officer no doubt has to renounce some hopes, but the overwhelming reason for it is that without it a strong and steadfast confidence between him and his people cannot be established. The renunciations are, after all, not so very great. The young officer who began with hopes of becoming Lieutenant-Governor, sees year by year his prospects contracting, so that by this time most of what he might have got is beyond his reach.

It would be right, and is practicable, seeing that some districts are more desirable than others, to equalize their initial attractions by giving the less desirable districts advantages in the way of local allowances or special leave privileges. Such disadvantages as bad house accommodation or communications, or unhealthy surroundings should in all cases be removed. We may hope for great improvements being effected by a District Officer in such a district when he realizes that his home is to be there. In this way I propose to remove the first of the three causes of estrangement—short acquaintance.

Coming to the next cause—the heavy burden of executive duties, I might point out an obvious remedy, viz., strengthen the staff. That being a matter depending on finance, however, I shall confine myself to less ambitious suggestions.

We have to bear in mind that the District Officer is the man, on whom the Government depends for keeping touch with a subject population, numbering not much less, and in some districts more, than the whole population of Switzerland, Denmark, or Greece. He is also the man who has to look after the whole executive machinery within his District. He works in a not very favourable climate, and has only so many working hours in the month; which, both for the use to which they should be put, and the amount they cost Government, ought to be counted precious and be carefully economized.

In my suggestions now given I shall confine myself to the District Officer's executive duties, leaving all judicial matters on one side. The question is one of detail. Every minute saved is an appreciable gain. Straw by straw the burden has grown up, and straw by straw a great part of it must be taken off. My suggestions then must be taken as indicating, not exhausting, the possibilities.

My first suggestion is that, in such duties as are left on the District Officer's shoulders, his word should be the last word; and he should have a free hand. In this way he would get rid of a mass of literature which encumbers his

racks and absorbs his time and energy. The work would not suffer, for he is competent, anxious only to do right, and can be supplied with advice and information when he needs it. This will be treating him as representative, and not delegate of Government.

It follows that all Government business, which it is thought necessary to conduct from headquarters, should be conducted without his intervention, and might be reserved for extraordinary occasions. This method of work is already adopted to some extent in some departments, such as Gaols, Police, and Treasury. He ought to have a personal assistant, who should sign for him everything but such papers and orders as involve the exercise of discretion or responsibility; and conduct for him a good deal of unimportant demi-official correspondence. This would relieve him of much mechanical, and therefore wearing, drudgery.

The next suggestion I make with some diffidence, as it is one whose merits are difficult to judge from below. But I think we send far too many and too long reports and returns upstairs. Returns are sent up for two purposes—information and check. If sufficient confidence is placed in the District Officer, check is not needed, and for information they need not surely be so frequent.

Then annual reports, frequently overlapping one another, have surely expanded far too much. The masses of literature which issue from our District Officers are gradually boiled down into the Brand's essence of the Provincial reports, themselves a series of portly volumes, until all the local flavour is boiled out of them. The only useful parts of them are the statistics, which, with a few short comments on anything worthy of notice ought to suffice. Discussions should, in these days of easy locomotion, be as far as possible by conference, and not by correspondence. Ten minutes' talk will often do more to clear up a difficulty or misunderstanding than months of correspondence. Probably if the mass of reports, returns and correspondence were reduced, Government might have fewer

clerks and more travelling officers at headquarters, and do something to keep better touch between itself and its District Officers, which is much to be desired.

I have indicated thus in a sketchy way how I think the District Officer's time might be economized, so that he might meet with a smiling face, not too obviously pre-occupied, those of his people who might want to see him, and have more time to go about their villages and see them in their homes and every-day life.

I come now to the relations between the District Officer and the other authorities recognised by Government—who have been already summarised under the heads of law-courts, chiefs of departments, and local bodies. What are the powers which he needs that he may properly fulfil his functions as representative of Government? To answer this question we must ascertain what peculiar interests are placed specially under his care. These are, in brief, the interests of the people of his district, and the interests of Government, so far as that has not been placed in the hands of others. Whatever touches any of these should be his business. With this touchstone let us now examine his relations with the three classes of authorities alluded to.

First the Law Courts. It will be enough here to discuss the Civil Courts only. The business of the civil court is to enforce rights and redress wrongs between individuals. "There is no wrong without a remedy." Any person filing a plaint with a plausible cause of action and sufficient court-fees, may compel his neighbour to appear before the court and have their dispute decided by it. This enormous power which the civil court has of taking up, on the appeal of one of the parties, and settling any dispute, may seem to leave no place in the court's constitution for the District Officer.

But there are reasons why, notwithstanding its high standard and great opportunities, the civil court is unable without his help to get its work properly done. These are (a) When the person wronged does not come forward, the

court cannot act. There are masses of people who, from ignorance, poverty or fear, cannot go to the court, and to such persons the court cannot go. When it has the parties before it, the court cannot look beyond the record. If the parties are not equally balanced in wealth, power and intelligence, this fact gives to the wealthy, strong, and shrewd so great an advantage in this land of darkness as to make it of very little use for their opponents to go on.

(b) There are large interests, such as the interests of the public in most parts of the country, which suffer from never being represented in court, because there is no one whose business it is to represent them.

(c) Owing to the influence of English common law and precedents, and to the fact that even a few decisions of a law court may regulate thousands of transactions out of court, there is grave danger of ancient and useful customs, (the common law of the country) being unintentionally weakened, and eventually destroyed by the action of the courts.

We have to bear in mind that, not much more than a hundred years ago, India was a disorganized country, full of feuds and intestine warfare. On its vast and varied communities, at this backward stage of civilization, were imposed the administration of peace, or the means whereby in peaceful Britain disputes are settled—the law courts. The propensity for fighting among themselves, not yet purged out of the people, and forcibly restrained from showing itself in open violence, seeks vent in the law court. In India a lawsuit is too often not a game played by rules, but war to the knife, and litigants think fraud, forgery, perjury and intimidation fair weapons to use. There is no public opinion to throw light on the outside conduct of the parties. The fight is fought out there in the dark, and is practically over by the time the parties come before the court. By assuming that a great part of the evidence is probably false, and that occurrences outside “not on the record” have probably affected the appearance of the case

as it comes into court, the courts avoid a good many errors. But they work at a disadvantage, and need the help of some such person of influence and local knowledge as the District Officer. Therefore I propose to give them his help, by which the administration of the law will be strengthened.

Taking the points in order, I note, as regards the first, that it would seldom be worth the while of the District Officer to take up the quarrel of an individual. Still, as it is our legal system to settle great principles in the course of the trials of concrete cases, he should have the power, when he thinks it necessary in the public interest, to see that a person gets a fair and full hearing. He might be allowed, without joining as a party, to interfere so far as to provide the person with proper legal help, and to require that the case be heard by the highest tribunal of the District. In such cases he should attend in person or by a representative as assessor.

As regards the second point, his position as general guardian of the public interests should give him the right to assert and protect all public rights, whether there is any special authority responsible for their protection or not, and he should have funds for the purpose.

As regards the third point, it should be lawful for the District Officer to make a special local inquiry, and to record any ancient custom which he may find to be prevailing. Such a record should be binding on the courts until superseded by a later record, made after a similar inquiry.

The law-court is a tribunal eminently unsuited for determining questions of custom. It is necessarily confined in its inquiries by the issues raised by the parties, and the evidence they choose and are able to produce. It is presided over most often by a stranger to the District, unfamiliar with local people and customs. (This description includes most judges who, though natives of the country, usually serve in places distant from their own homes and unaided by a jury.) So great is the pressure of precedent, that a

practice once stamped with the approval of the court, quickly spreads, and ancient customs become, or seem in the eyes of the court to have become obsolete, superseded by new practice. I note that the orders of the courts, whether they like it or not, are regarded by the people just like any other orders of a despotic ruler. And the common law of the land can only be safe-guarded from any intended weakening, by its being placed under the protection of an authority so unmistakably the representative of Government, as is the District Officer. I think I have said enough to show that there is, in the administration of civil justice, a place for the District Officer which cannot well be filled by anyone else, and by taking which he can be of great help to the civil courts in their work of doing justice and righting wrong.

As regards the relations of the District Officer with the second class of authorities—the heads of departments—the problem is different. The relations already exist, and we have to see how they can be simplified. Authority is derived to the District Officer from the Government through the Commissioner. If it be likened to a rope, numerous strands have to be passed through the heads of departments, to be united in the District Officer. As there are 49 District Officers and some 16 heads of departments, there is plainly a good deal of complication. The District Officer is superior in local knowledge, and the head of the department, as an expert, in knowledge of his special branch. What are to be their relations? The question is important, as practically all Government business is in the hands of departments.

The relations must be determined by the considerations, indicated at the beginning of this section — the chief of which is that the District Officer is guardian of the interests of his people, and they must vary according to the duties of the department. Some departments, as the post-office telegraph and railway, are purely commercial, and with these the District Officer has, and need have, no connection at all. Other departments, such as gaols, registration, hospitals, public works, or accounts, are scientific or mechanical, not

in authority over the general public, and have the District Officer's services now as auditor or inspector. For these, the services of a subordinate might be lent, where needed, the District Officer being retained as a visitor, or for holding inquiries for the satisfaction of the Government in case of anything being seriously wrong.

There are departments again, such as Police and Excise, in which, apart from certain branches which can only be properly conducted by experts, the control for the district should be vested in the District Officer, and not in the head of the department. The reason for this is that the work involves compulsory powers over the people, and the departmental head has not the necessary local knowledge. There are in every district hundreds of departmental police and thousands of village watchmen, vested with very wide powers of compulsion over the people of the villages. Their officers are few and ill-paid, and the only chance of their being kept in order is the strong and undivided control of the District Officer. He should have full power not only to order but to punish all subordinates in his District. Touching the point of local knowledge, a well-conducted department, like a well-conducted mill, must be uniform in its methods. There must be the same machinery and the same methods of work in all districts. The department has a contempt for, and impatience of, local peculiarities, and a strong desire to disregard them and sweep them away. But when departmental work involves compulsion on the subject, then the ruling interest is not that of the department but that of the subject, and it is for the District Officer to sit on the box and take the reins, while the departmental chief subsides into the critic.

I think all departments will come under one of the three descriptions given above, and it ought never, therefore, to be necessary for the District Officer to be subordinate to any departmental chief, or to anyone, in fact, save the Government, and the local representative of Government, the Commissioner.

In claiming for him a position of independence, I do not ask for isolation. Statistics would continue to be furnished, and the District Officer would remain responsible for his work. Control, however, would be exercised by criticising what he has done, and not by discussing what he proposes to do. He would thus be able to act promptly and decidedly, at the proper time, and get things done. Explanations and discussions should also be as much as possible by conference instead of by correspondence, whereby a better understanding would be obtained of the facts and much time and labour saved.

A very important question in this connection is that of patronage. The departmental office in Calcutta has a great army of clerks and subordinates, and there is abroad among the subordinates in the districts a feeling that a man's chance of posting or promotion depends less on his merits than on friends at headquarters. Doubtless departmental chiefs desire to, and perhaps think they do, exclude office manipulation. When, however, the departmental head is moving about a great deal and is plunged into the consideration of important matters, the control of the movements of their thousands of subordinates must perforce drift into the hands of clerks. The Government has decentralized the subordinates of the general staff, and to do the same with those of the departmental staffs seems the only way to rescue them from the curse of jobbery.

The third class of authorities with which the District Officer has relations are the local bodies—District and Municipal Boards, and the like. Widely differing views are taken of the efficiency, usefulness and rights of those bodies. On the one side, "Lokil Sluff," as it is nicknamed, is sneered at as a fad of the Government, especially of Lord Ripon—an exotic plant which cannot live and thrive in the soil of India. On the other side "Local Self-government" is a sacred institution, not to be interfered with, even by the Government which introduced it, on pain of being denounced as a tyrant and despot. These are the extreme views.

Without discussing the merits or possibilities of Local Self-government, and taking existing bodies as they stand, I think it is generally admitted that all these bodies derive some, and many of them most of their power, not from the people but from Government. While there are among them bodies genuinely representative of local aspirations, there are undoubtedly also bogus bodies, posing to Government as representatives of the people, and to the people as clothed with authority by Government, who use the forms meant to ensure liberty, as many litigants do, those meant to ensure justice, for their own aggrandizement.

All local bodies—even those genuinely popular—have to be closely supervised. They are in England, and in India even the best of them need supervision still more. But in the case of those which have been built by Government, and of which we hardly know yet whether they will stand without the scaffolding, the supervision, if they are allowed to continue their existence at all, must be doubly strict. We must remember that for this experiment all the big towns of Bengal have been chosen, where a mistake is a costly matter—a matter it may be of many lives and deaths.

There can be no fear, seeing what is the policy of the British Government, and of the British nation at its back, that encouragement will be withheld from the genuine spirit of Local Self-government wherever it may show itself. But the District Officer should have power to make short work of faction, or laziness, or corruption, when they endanger the public health, safety, and convenience committed to their charge. The greatest obstruction to the progress of real Local Self-government is that which is spurious. The District Officer should have power when the occasion requires, to forbid action by a local body, or to order things to be done at its expense. He has at present some such modified power, but it is not drastic enough, and acts too slowly when applied.

I have now indicated in what way I think the District Officer may be fitted for his duty as representative of

Government. He may thus be placed in such a position as will enable him to get on confidential terms with his people, freed as far as possible from drudgery, furnished with the necessary powers to protect his people from injustice or oppression—even the oppression of those who are called their local representatives, and be disentangled from the red tape of departments. If all this is done (all without any extra cost to the administration), we may hope to hear less, than we do now, of estrangement between Government and people.

THE TRIBES AND THE LAND IN THE PANJÁB.*

BY SIR CHARLES ROE, BART.

(Late Chief Justice of the Chief Court of the Panjáb.)

THE subject to which I would invite your attention is one which abounds in interest, so much so indeed that there is more than an embarrassment of riches. To trace the origin of the various agricultural tribes in the Panjáb, to examine their customs in detail, and to compare them, not only with one another, but also with other systems of Customary Law, would be almost a labour of love; but it is one which would require, not a single paper, to the consideration of which only a small portion of your valuable space can be devoted, but a series of papers extending over many months. I can only attempt very briefly to state what are the facts regarding the holding of land in the Panjáb by tribal groups at the present time, to explain what inquiries have been made into their customs so far as they affect the land, and what has been the result of the consideration of the Customary Law by the Civil Courts. In doing this, I shall merely be repeating in a condensed form what I have already put forward in a small work I brought out in conjunction with Mr. H. A. B. Rathgau some three years ago, entitled "Tribal Law in the Panjáb." It is very unlikely that your readers have read, or ever will read, that work; but I have felt compelled to refer to it now and again in the course of the present paper as giving details as to matters of fact, or reasons for conclusions which space does not permit me to narrate more fully. As I have already observed, the Tribal Law of the Panjáb possesses much interest for the general student; but it possesses especial interest for myself, for during the eleven years from 1887 that I occupied a seat

* For the discussion of this paper, see "Proceedings of the East India Association" elsewhere in this review.—ED.

in the Chief Court of the Panjáb, the consideration of its true principles formed the most constant, and certainly not the least important, of our duties; and during even a longer period the question of agricultural indebtedness, which so greatly affects the tribal organization of the Province, has occupied, and is still occupying, the attention of the Executive Government. I therefore venture to think that in calling your readers' attention to the tribes and the land in the Panjáb I am asking them to consider, not a mere hobby of my own, but a question of very great practical importance.

Mr. Ibbetson's Census Report of 1881 shows that more than half the population of the Panjab consists of agriculturists belonging to distinct tribes, which may be grouped under six main divisions, viz.: (1) Beluchis and Pathans; (2) Jats; (3) Rajputs; (4) Minor Dominant Tribes, or tribes which, though forming a small proportion of the tribal population, are dominant in a particular locality, such as the Kharals and Kathias along the Rávi in the old Multan Division; (5) Minor Agricultural Tribes, or tribes, like the Arunis, which are to be found throughout the Province, without being dominant anywhere; and (6) Foreign Races, like the Shekhs and Moghals. These six groups constitute 504 per 1,000 of the total population of the Province, and more than half of the 504 per 1,000 are Jats or Rajputs, the figures being: Jats, 189; Rajputs, 82. Speaking broadly, the tribes are distributed in the following manner: All the Panjáb to the east of the Satlaj, including the districts of Delhi, Gurgaon, Rohtak, and Hissár, which were formerly attached to the North-West Provinces, is held by tribes, mainly Jats and Rajputs, of Hindu origin, most of whom, though some have become Muhammadans, have remained Hindus. The same is the case in the central districts of the Panjáb to the north of Montgomery, from the Satlaj to the Chenab. In these parts many of the Hindus have become Sikhs, who are also to be found in other parts of the Province, without changing in any material respect their Tribal Law. The frontier districts, from Hazárah

to Derah Ghazi Khan, are held by original Muhammadan tribes—Pathans in the north, Beluchis in the south. In the intermediate districts, comprising the old Rawalpindi Division on the north, and the Multan Division on the south, there is, as might be expected, a mixture of tribes, the great majority of whom are now Muhammadans, though most of them were originally Hindus.

It is impossible within the limits of this article to attempt any detailed account of the origin of the various tribes. Much interesting information on this point is to be found in Mr. Ibbetson's Census Report. The general characteristic of them all is that the tie between the members of the tribe is a belief in a descent from a common ancestor. It is very improbable that this belief is absolutely true in the case of any tribe, but it is probable that it is partially true in the case of all—that is, in each tribe there has been a nucleus of families who really had a common ancestor, and outsiders who have been admitted into the tribe have become so completely absorbed into it that all trace of their foreign origin has been lost.

A second characteristic common to all the tribes is that they are always stated by their traditions to have come from other parts—in other words, that they were originally migratory. Whilst they were so, there could obviously be no idea of property in land. But as soon as migration ceased and the tribe finally settled in a certain locality, it would within a very short period regard the land on which it settled as its own exclusive property. The first conception of proprietary right would necessarily be a tribal one; the tribe had a right to hold the lands on which it settled against all other tribes. What would be the rights of the tribesmen amongst themselves could only be so regulated by further social developments. What this process of development would naturally be, I have endeavoured to show in my first chapter of "Tribal Law." It cannot be supposed that there was ever a formal meeting of the whole tribe, at which the land was subdivided into villages,

and the villages allotted to different families, or groups of families. What would naturally take place, and what—as far as we can ascertain—generally did take place, would be that families, or groups of families, nearly related by blood, would select the most favourable spots, build houses on them, and cultivate the land jointly. Each collection of groups would soon cease—if it ever commenced—the practise of contributing its produce to a common stock for the whole tribe, and would be regarded as exclusively entitled to permanent possession of the cultivated land. The waste lands would continue to be the common property of all the groups of settlers. But in course of time these also would be demarcated. When this is done, the village takes the place of the tribe as the social unit. No doubt there are parts of the Panjáb—especially in the south-west—where many villages have been formed by enclosing in one boundary, and bringing together for administrative purposes, groups of settlers, unconnected by any tie of blood, who have broken up patches of waste land. But for every village in the Panjáb a village pedigree table has been prepared, giving the names and descent of all the existing owners of land, and a history of the village from its foundation; and, after making full allowance for myths or legends which must necessarily creep into such documents, I think that it may be safely affirmed that taken as a whole they show that speaking generally in the Panjáb the order of social development has been, not the individual, the family, the village, and the tribe, but the tribe, the village, the family, the individual. For whilst our conclusion that the village was formed from the tribe can only be based on the circumstantial evidence afforded by the fact that groups of villages, owned by men of the same tribe, with the same tribal customs, are found in one locality (in the Ferozpur District a single tribe thus owns over 1,000 square miles of country without a break), we have, as regards the internal development of the village, the direct evidence of the pedigree tables, which show that

almost invariably where there has been a single founder, and most frequently when there have been groups of founders nearly related, the village was for some time after its foundation held jointly; that when it was partitioned, the partition took place according to descent from a common ancestor, and that where possession alone has taken the place of ancestral shares as the measure of right, the change has been very gradual.

I will not attempt any detailed explanation of the organization of the village community; to those who have served in India such an explanation would be superfluous—to those who have not it would be unintelligible. I would, however, call attention to two most important bodies which are to be found in every village which has originated from a tribe, whatever may be its present state of development—whether it is still held jointly or on ancestral shares, or whether possession has become the measure of right—and these are the *Barádaré*, or “brotherhood,” consisting of all the male proprietors belonging to the same tribe, who are—or were—regarded as the arbiters to settle all disputes, and especially questions of customs; and the “*warisán yak jade*,” who are the male descendants in the male line of the ancestor of each family who first founded or settled in the village, and are the agnatic heirs of every proprietor in that family, and as such have a power of control over his actions in dealing with the land which has descended to him from the common ancestor.

I have dwelt thus at length on the actual conditions of the holding of land in the Panjáb, because both in judicial and in scientific inquiries, and also in dealing with political matters, it is essential that we should investigate and be sure of our facts before we attempt to apply theories or principles of law. If, as some suppose, a tribal state of society, or of occupation of the land by villages originating in a tribe, has long since passed away—if, indeed, it ever existed at all—if the peasant proprietors of the Panjáb are mere groups of individuals formed into village communities

for administrative purposes, and bound together by no tie of blood, but only by the tie of contiguity, then no doubt there would be no real tribal or customary law regulating their actions; and to attempt to evolve such a law for them from our own theories, and to apply it through our courts, would be the gravest of mistakes. If, on the other hand, it is the fact that in the Panjáb the land is still held by groups of men whose origin is tribal, and if the holding of the land is regulated by principles so general and so well understood as to constitute a tribal or customary law, then to refuse to recognise or give effect to that law would be a mistake greater even than the one I have just mentioned.

That the facts are as I have stated them to be is, I think, clearly proved, not only by the Pedigree Tables to which I have referred, but also by the Settlement Reports of every district in the Panjáb. That the succession to, and enjoyment of, land is regulated by well-understood principles of very general applicability is, I think, no less clear; for it is obvious that without such principles the village communities must have fallen to pieces long ago. What, then, are these principles? In my "Tribal Law" I have given my reasons for holding that, although they may have points in common with Hindu or Muhammadan Law, they can in no way be said to be derived from those sources. The Hindu Law, even when stripped of the elaborations and additions of the Brahmins, relates to a later stage of social development, in which the family is the unit, and not the community or tribe, and the family tie, though naturally mainly based on blood relationship, is a religious one created by joining in the offering of the pind rather than by the tradition of agnatic descent from a common ancestor.* Muhammadan Law, so far as it relates to inheritance, would by recognizing females as heirs, and by making each heir absolute owner of the share assigned to him, utterly destroy all tribal holding of land in a very

* The members of the family group are "Sapindahs," not "Wáusán Yakjadi."

short time. Its principles could only be applied to a tribe when it was still migratory, or, at any rate, when the lands of the tribe belonged to the tribe as a whole, and when the estate of the individual to which the scheme of partition was to be applied consisted only of a few dwelling-houses and movable property. Wherever in our own times in the Panjáb mistaken religious zeal has led a family to declare that it would abide by the Muhammadan Law, and that the Kázi should fix the shares into which the family lands should be divided, the result has been disastrous. Before the dates of the births and deaths of various members of the family, on which the shares so greatly depend, can be ascertained, and the shares fixed as they stood at the date of the falling in of the estate, a sharer is certain to die, and the sharers must be recast. This will occur again and again. I have never myself known, and I have never met any officer who has known, a case in which landed property has been divided amongst numerous heirs according to Muhammadan Law. In sheer despair the sharers will in the end arrange some compromise, and call it Muhammadan Law; but a suit to apply that law to a large family estate with numerous heirs is one to which a Chancery suit in the good old days would be a model of simplicity and expedition.

Although the agricultural tribes of the Panjáb never followed—and never heard of, except vaguely by name—Hindu or Muhammadan Law, it was only natural that in the early days of the British rule the officers who had to administer the law should have considered that there was some presumption that these laws were in force. Not only would any foreigner assume that as the population could be classed as Hindu or Muhammadan, therefore these laws were applicable to the two sections of the population, but it must also be remembered that our first Panjáb officials came from parts of India where these laws were actually in force as the general law of the land. But even in the earliest days there was a consciousness that they were not the real law of the Panjáb. The Civil Courts

were for a long time debarred from taking cognizance of suits relating to land—which were made over to the Revenue Officers—and especially to the Settlement Officers—who were enjoined in deciding them to pay special regard to custom, and to refer cases to arbitration as much as possible. It was, however, inevitable that a considerable time should elapse before the truth as to custom could be really known. In our earliest settlements the only attempt made to record custom—and it was probably the only one that could be made—was to attach to the Record of Rights for each village a paper called the “Wajib-ul-arz,” or “things proper to be set forth,” in which a few of the most salient points of custom were recorded in the midst of provisions relating to the collection of the Land Revenue and Administration generally. But when these first settlements had been completed throughout the Province, it was realized that the customs regarding land were not special in particular villages, but were common to large groups of villages and tribes. Accordingly when the Settlements came to be revised between 1860 and 1863, Mr. E. A. Prinsep—the then Settlement Commissioner—instructed his officers to prepare the Records of Custom not for villages, but for groups and tribes, and the Records thus prepared were called the “Riwáj-i-ám,” or “General Customs.” The details of the preparation were left to the Settlement Officers of the different districts—and we find many of the first Riwáj-i-áms not so full as could be wished. But the principle followed was the right one, and it was worked out by Mr. C. L. Tupper, then Assistant Settlement Officer in Derah Gházi Khan, who in 1873 prepared and, with the sanction of Government, circulated to all Settlement Officers a series of questions, calculated to obtain information on all the important customs connected with the land. How the inquiries were made, and in what form the results for each district in the Province are recorded, is stated in detail in my second chapter on “Tribal Law.” It must always be borne in mind that these Records, however carefully pre-

pared, do not themselves constitute the law ; the true Customary Law is the unwritten law, and the Records are merely evidence, the value of which varies considerably, as to what the law is. But whatever may be the value of the Records as regards details, they establish beyond doubt the broad fact that—to use the words of Sir Meredyth Plowden, a former head of the Chief Court of the Panjáb—“there are in the rural parts of the Province numerous groups of persons connected with the land who follow on most matters customary rules which are not identical with the rules of the Hindu or of the Muhammadan Law.”

These customary rules do not constitute a general Common Law for the Panjáb in the sense of the Common Law of England ; they are the rules, not of the Province as a whole, but of its different tribal groups. But on comparing them we find a great similarity on main points indicating clearly a tribal origin. The keystone of them all is the principle of agnatic succession, which is based on the strong tribal feeling which is expressed again and again in the answers to questions of custom, that “the land must not leave the tribe.” In accordance with this principle we find that females are almost universally excluded from the succession to ancestral land—and that in the very few instances, which may be said to be confined to certain Muhammadan tribes in which females are usually married to a near agnate, where they succeed in default of male heirs, they do so as a means of conveying the property to another male, taking themselves little more than a life interest. We find also that even the powers of a male owner over the estate in his possession are limited ; he cannot sell his land except for necessity, and when he so sells it his nearest agnates have a right of pre-emption—a right in no way derived from Muhammadan Law, but based on the principle that the land must remain in the tribe. Similarly, adoption—which is by no means universally recognised even amongst Hindus—has no real connection with the ceremonial adoption of the Hindu Law. Where the

custom exists at all it is merely one permitting a childless man to take one of his near agnates to live with him as a son, and as such succeed to his estate. To quote from another judgment of Sir Meredyth Plowden, "it is a common feature of Customary Law throughout the Province that no individual, whether or not he has male issue, is, under ordinary circumstances, competent, by his own sole act, to prevent the devolution of ancestral land in accordance with the rules of inheritance—that is, upon his male descendants in the male line, if any, or failing them, upon his agnate kinsmen in order of proximity. The exercise of any power which would prevent the operation of these rules, to the detriment of the natural successors to ancestral land, is liable to be controlled by them, whether the act done be a partition or a gift, or a sale or mortgage otherwise than for necessity, or an adoption."

It was some years before the true principles of the Customary Law were fully understood even by the Chief Court, and the earlier judicial decisions to a great extent ignored the right of the agnates to control the acts of the individual. I have dealt with this point at length in my second chapter in "Tribal Law," and have shown that the change of view has arisen solely from the discovery of new evidence, and is in no way due to the personal views of the Judges as to the expediency of maintaining or destroying a particular state of society.

But although political expediency cannot or should not affect the decisions of a Court of Justice, it is one which affects very strongly the action of the Executive Government. As I remarked in the beginning of this paper, whilst the Chief Court has been occupied with considering the law or customary rules relating to the holding of land by tribal groups in the Panjáb, and has done much to prevent the land passing from them owing to the application to them of principles of law foreign to their true customs, the Executive Government has been occupied with the problem of how to prevent the land passing from them by the opera-

tion of economic laws. It views, and I think rightly, such passing as a very grave political danger. Yet how to prevent it is a very difficult problem indeed. It is one which resembles in many points the problem of preventing the ruin of unthrifty people by money-lenders in England, which recently engaged the attention of a Committee of the House of Commons. It is easy to recognise the evil; it is easy to say that it must be put a stop to; but when we come to suggest practical remedies, we find ourselves met on all sides with difficulties which seem insurmountable. What remedies have been recommended by the Government of India, and what orders have been passed by the Secretary of State for India, I am not in a position to know. But I think it is no breach of official confidence to say that when a portion of the papers were circulated for opinion to particular officers, I noticed and entirely agreed with the view expressed by Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjáb, that what we are really concerned with is the keeping of the land in the hands of the agricultural tribes as a class; to keep hopelessly insolvent individuals in possession of petty holdings is a task beyond our power, and even if it were possible, the political expediency of doing so is more than doubtful. At any rate, I would venture to suggest that before resorting to drastic measures in the supposed interest of individuals we should endeavour to strengthen the position of the tribes as a body by legislating where necessary on the lines of the existing Customary Law. I have in my book given my reasons for objecting strongly to any attempt to codify that law, but there are one or two points in connection with it on which I think that legislation might be undertaken with advantage. I have said that it is very generally found to be the custom that an agriculturist cannot sell or mortgage his ancestral land, except for necessity. Whether it would be possible to frame a satisfactory legal definition of necessity may be doubtful, but I think that much litigation might be prevented if it were provided that a proprietor whose power of

alienation is restricted by Customary Law should give to some superior Revenue Officer, and through him to the agnates possessing the power of control, notice of the proposed alienation, and if the Revenue Office were empowered to inquire into the *bonâ-fide* nature of the facts alleged as constituting the necessity, and, where the necessity was established, to give the agnates an opportunity of exercising their right of pre-emption. The law of pre-emption certainly requires amendment. It is true that the Panjáb Law Act, in which it is contained, does recognise custom as regulating the exercise of the right; but it only expressly recognises what I regard as the true foundation of the right, agnatic-relationship, in the case of "villages held on ancestral shares," a phrase which has given rise to much litigation and to many erroneous decisions. It should also be provided that a person possessing the right of pre-emption should be entitled to exercise the right by payment of the fair market value of the land. It is contrary to all principles of Tribal Law that a stranger should be able by mere power of the purse—by paying a fancy price, even when this is fixed in good faith—to take ancestral land from the agnatic heirs who are able and willing to pay a fair price for it. Lastly, the law regarding mortgage by conditional sale should be radically amended or repealed altogether; in its present form it is wholly unsuited to the agriculturists of the Panjáb, and it compels the Courts to pass decisions which work cruel injustice, and which the Judges themselves feel to be little, if anything, short of scandalous.

What I have endeavoured thus to state may, I think, be summed up in the following brief propositions:

1. That, speaking generally, the land in the Panjáb is still held by groups of peasant proprietors, forming village communities, bound together by the tie of agnatic kinship, and membership of a common tribe.

2. That these groups and communities follow in most matters, and particularly in matters relating to land, neither

the Hindu nor the Muhammadan Law, but customary rules of their own.

3. That these customary rules have a tribal origin, and are based on the perfectly intelligible and consistent principle of keeping the land in the tribe by a strict rule of agnatic succession.

4. That it is politically expedient that the land should remain in the possession of these tribal groups, and that any legislation which may be undertaken with regard to the land and its owners should be directed to maintaining and strengthening the true Customary or Tribal Law.

Space scarcely permits me to even allude to the very interesting question of the origin and growth of law generally which is naturally suggested by a study of the Customary Law of the Panjáb. I would merely remark that I think that in dealing with it we should draw a great distinction between the Criminal and the Civil Law. The Criminal Law may have originated in the Pathan Polestas, which, in its turn, may have originated in a semi-religious sanction, or may be merely the power of the strong to enforce obedience from the weak; but it appears to me that we have evidence on all sides that the origin of the Civil Law, especially as far as it regulates the succession to and enjoyment of land, is tribal custom—a custom formed, not by collecting and elaborating the decisions of chiefs, but by the public opinion of the “brotherhood” generally. The difference in the origin of the Criminal and the Civil Law is, I think, remarkably illustrated in the Old Testament. We find the Jewish Kings in matters of Criminal Law pure autocrats—they make what orders they please, and enforce them as they please; they punish arbitrarily men who they think deserve punishment, even though no positive order may have been disobeyed. They say to their young men, “Fall upon him,” and they “fall upon him” without even the form of a trial. But in civil matters they are powerless. Land cannot even be taken

up for a public purpose on payment of most ample compensation against the will of its owner. King Ahab can only overcome the opposition of Naboth by the Oriental expedient of a false criminal charge.

But whatever may be the origin of law, civil or criminal, it appears to me clear that the first conception of property in land is that of tribal property. We find this not only in India, but also amongst the Scotch clans, and Irish septs, and the tribes of the islands of the South Pacific. It is only a natural development that the tribal idea should be succeeded by the family idea, and that the latter in its turn should give place to the idea of individual ownership. It would be vain and mischievous to attempt to restore by legislation a social condition that has passed away, or even to arrest natural development. I have little faith in the modern schemes of "Socialism" or "Collectivism," which appear to me schemes for restoring under another name a tribal state of society. On the other hand, much mischief is done by an inability or refusal to recognise a social state different from that in which we live ourselves. I believe that we did much mischief in Scotland, and much more in Ireland, when we failed to recognise the joint proprietary titles of the clans and septs, and turned the chiefs into English landlords. I believe, too, that much of our trouble with uncivilized tribes in the present day arises from attempts to enforce rights to tribal lands which Englishmen believe themselves to have acquired from individuals who were by tribal custom quite incapable of making any valid grant. I believe that in the Panjáb we shall do serious mischief both socially and politically if, by failing to understand the true state of rural society in that Province, and ignoring the Customary Law which keeps that society together, we help to break up the village communities and to transfer their lands to strangers. Even if it be true that such a change is inevitable, it would be a great misfortune if the responsibility for it could be justly laid on the British Government.

THE NECESSITY FOR SANITARY AND ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM IN INDIA.

BY C. W. MACRURY, F.R.C.S. ED., D.P.H. CAMB.,

Late Sanitary Commissioner for the Government of Bombay.

THE area of British India is a little over $1\frac{1}{2}$ million square miles (1,553,925), and contains 52,903,700 inhabited houses, being in the proportion of 34 to each square mile.

By the last census the total population was about $287\frac{1}{4}$ millions (287,289,783), the average density being at the rate of 185 persons to the square mile. The three most densely populated provinces are Oudh with 513 persons, Bengal with 473 persons, and the North-West Provinces with 413 persons to the square mile.

Travancore and Cochin average 385 persons, and the British districts of Madras 252 persons to the square mile. There are 75 towns in India with a population exceeding 50,000, 29 of them having a population exceeding 100,000, and 6 a population exceeding 200,000.

In 1891 the largest of these was Bombay City and island, which, including the cantonment, had a population of 821,764, composed of all the races, nationalities and religions in the world, the vast majority of whom are living on sewage-sodden and water-logged soil in dark, ill-ventilated and overcrowded "chawls"—notoriously the *fons et origo* of the unhealthiness of the city, of which about half is undrained.

The sanitary field in such a vast area, and among such a teeming population, is immense, but practically it lies fallow, because *Salus populi* has not yet become *Suprema lex* in India. Plague is not a new visitor to India; there have been outbreaks of it in the Kumaon Hills in recent years, without either having caused a panic or spreading to other districts. The Rajpootana outbreak in 1836 was said to have originated from infected bales of cloth brought by Bunias from Guzerat, and the disease appears to be

endemic in the valley of the Tigris and vicinity of Bagdad and Western Arabia. Its source, however, is comparatively of little consequence, the important point being the conditions of filth and overcrowding which are well known to favour its existence and spread. If these conditions are successfully dealt with, plague will disappear as certainly as typhus fever has practically been suppressed in this country by improved sanitation. Cleanliness, free ventilation, and sunlight are unfailing remedies against filth and overcrowding with all their accompanying evils. The methods of precaution and prevention as regards plague and typhus fever are *mutatis mutandis* practically the same.

The plague-stricken should be encouraged and recommended when possible to vacate houses or rooms in which the disease appears, and to apply for medical aid, provided for them, on the very first signs of illness. But they should not be annoyed and worried by interfering with the privacy of their homes in searching for cases and removing them *nolens volens* to isolation hospitals. Those having proper and suitable accommodation should be treated in their own houses. It is questionable whether anything but mischief has resulted from the philanthropic but ill-advised and mistaken steps taken to coerce and drive the people instead of leading them in a kind and sympathetic manner in their dire distress and suffering. The attempts to mitigate the pestilence were no doubt well meant, but they were aggravated by the terror of the police, and rendered Government and their officials odious to all classes of natives. No people in the world would have stood so well such an interference with their social life, besides the danger that the only available agency might possibly make the occasion one of profit to themselves. The inconsistency of imposing land quarantine, an objectionable and impracticable measure of protection against disease, has been a matter of surprise to all modern sanitarians, because it has been for many years persistently denounced as an absurdity by the Home and Indian Governments through their chosen delegates at

European sanitary conferences. Such a retrograde step in sanitary administration has never before been made, and the mischief in many ways it has caused is incalculable. The Venice Convention has apparently been abrogated in the case of the steamer *Bhandara*, from Kurrachee, on board of which 1,000 persons were confined at Zanzibar for fourteen days without any sickness occurring among them, according to a report in the *Times* of January 11 last. The people have been intensely irritated by the measures adopted to suppress the plague, which have caused great discontent and several serious disturbances with their lamentable results. Had the declared policy in regard to epidemics in former years been followed, all this mischief, as well as a large and needless expenditure of money, would have been avoided, and undoubtedly much good would have been done. The untold measure of human misery and suffering, the loss of life, and the injury to trade consequent on the plague epidemic, which has so unhappily prevailed in Western India for more than two years, will not, however, prove an unqualified evil should it lead to the placing of preventive medicine in its legitimate position in our Indian Empire.

The official machinery for the protection of the public health in India is defective, inasmuch as the State does not sufficiently recognise sanitary science as a guide and ally in the prevention of disease. It is, therefore, by no means premature that this important fact should be made known, and no apology seems necessary for endeavouring to point out evils and grievances, the sources of which demand immediate removal.

In fighting the battles of disease, it may with reason be asked, why should the medical profession not be trusted to do its own work without being hampered by civilians or superseded by military men in times of epidemics in India, especially under conditions of panic? This clearly shows that there is a want of confidence in medical and sanitary science. For instance, a Bombay civilian, without any apparent qualification as a sanitarian, was appointed to

superintend plague operations, with a salary and allowances, according to grade and service, equal to the pay of from eight to thirteen medical officers. It may be permitted to doubt if the services of a single civilian, however eminent, are worth more than a dozen medical men. Rs. 3,800 plus Rs. 200 a month travelling allowance would command the services of two or more of the most celebrated sanitarians in Europe, whose observations and reports would be inestimable to the public and posterity. What can be the scientific importance of the reports of Bombay Commissioners or of Assistant-Collectors? The Indian Medical Service, for some unknown reasons, has been considered unworthy of being represented on the Plague Commission, of which one of the civilian members will have to sit in judgment partly on his own proceedings, as he officiated for a time as Plague Commissioner in the Presidency of Bombay.

The following extract from a communication lately received by me from one of the ablest, most earnest and energetic officers in H.M.'s Indian Medical Service will give some idea of the difficulties and discouragements with which medical officers have to contend in the discharge of their onerous duties in Western India, and my own long experience confirms every word of it. *Inter alia* he says :

"We doctors do all the slave-work, and the Assistant-Collector, be he ever so junior, gets all the credit, though all he may do is to sit in his office and sign papers. The following is my own experience. In September, 1897, I was sent to K——, where plague was very bad indeed, to take over charge from a Brahmin, Surgeon-Lieutenant ——. I naturally endeavoured at once to get all the plague bundabust as pucca as I could. The Assistant-Collector, however, —, did not approve of my objecting to and altering arrangements which had been instituted by him and —, and this, too, though a Surgeon-Major had been sent down to report on the arrangements then in force, and had condemned them out and out. Indeed it was owing to his report that I was hurried off from B—— to K——. The attacks varied then from 30 to 35 a day on the average, and the deaths from 23 to 30 a day on the average, the census population being 12,086. Things were then so bad, and I felt having anything to do with the plague operations in the town so great a responsibility, that I wrote to — that unless —'s opposition were stopped I would have to ask to be transferred—a grave step you will understand for one just transferred to plague duty. Government had to intervene, and then I got

my own way, and eventually I got the whole arrangements of K—— town and villages into my hands, medical, financial and administrative. That, of course, was only in practice ; in theory I was serving under —— (then under four years' service as against my eight years), and afterwards under an Assistant-Collector, called ——, who was under two years' service. After the intervention of Government, —— sulked, and satisfied himself in finding fault. —— was a good chap, and we worked well together. He recognised that —— (an I.M.S. man junior to me attached to the plague column) and I had borne the brunt of the fight and left me to my own devices. The Collector ——, having visited me at K——, said he was satisfied that I knew what I was about, and let me have my own way almost entirely. Then —— came on the scenes first from S——, where he had reaped the credit which I have heard really belonged to ——, and rearranged the whole bundabust. He wanted to take everything but the actual care of the sick out of the hands of the doctors, and did so in the villages, but I believe the Collector objected to my being disturbed in K—— town, and there I remained till the end almost. The K—— Taluka was then divided into five districts, each under a European officer. One was under ——, the Assistant-Collector ; one under ——, the Forest Officer ; and three were under military officers, who were promptly made 1st Class Magistrates with summary powers. R—— and I had been made only 2nd Class Magistrates, and of course without summary powers.

"These officers came in due course, and one, a subaltern in one of the Bombay regiments, having no previous acquaintance with plague, proposed a scheme for dealing with it within a fortnight of his having taken over charge. This did not meet with the Collector's approval, on which the subaltern proceeded to sulk. Another Staff Corps officer, a Captain, considered it within his right to determine who should and who should not be discharged from hospital. I should have mentioned that each of these plague-officers was provided with a hospital assistant to give him professional advice regarding what were and what were not plague cases. It never seemed to occur to the authorities that a Staff Corps officer and hospital assistant performed the duties a doctor was able to perform for himself. Plague is a disappointing disease, but I have every reason to be satisfied with my work at K——. On November 30 of last year, 1897, I announced K—— free, and it has remained practically a year clear, though for some months back the villages round have been badly infected. What between the way we have been dealt with regarding plague, and the eternal stoppage of leave, the I.M.S. is getting very discontented. It seems to be the idea that doctors cannot possibly have administrative power, and must therefore have either a military officer or civilian, no matter how junior, to direct their energies into the proper channels."

The evident moral of all this confusion and mismanagement is that the Indian Medical Service contains ample organizing resources within its own ranks, and when it is

emancipated from the shackles imposed largely by clerically-trained civilians, it may be trusted with the performance of its own duties, which, as it is well known, paved the way for the foundations of our Indian Empire. But if young civilians are to be entrusted with such duties in addition to their own it would be necessary that they should be required to attend a course of lectures on the elements of hygiene before leaving this country in order that they might be able somewhat to appreciate its principles and practice ; and if now and then in their leisure hours at Cutchery they refreshed their memories with Indian history, they would find it recorded that it was through the influence of a medical man that the site for the first British factory in Bengal was granted to the old company, and that through similar favours obtained in other parts of India through the influence of the profession, the thin end of the wedge was inserted towards gradually establishing our power throughout India ; but all this is well-nigh forgotten by the present generation, and gratitude is now almost an unknown virtue amongst us.

The Indian Medical Service must have its duties and position more strictly defined if it is to continue to attract a superior class of men. For example, what can be more absurd and irritating than to have one's annual report—after being written with considerable care and labour—criticised and reviewed by a young layman who happens to be an Under-Secretary to Government, and is empowered to expunge any portion of it should it be disapproved by any other department ? This has occurred within my own experience, and that of my late distinguished predecessor, which clearly proves that at present the free discussion of public health questions by experts, who ought to be the best judges of such matters, is not to be tolerated.

The Sanitary Department is a mere shadow of what it ought to be. To be efficient its strength must at least be doubled, if only to control and supervise vaccination work, which, if carried out at all, should be done well. Nothing

has more injured the cause of vaccination than dishonest and inefficient work. Collectors, even here, intermeddle by making a pretence of inspecting Taluka vaccinators' registers, simply to display their authority, and to show the natives that they are paramount in their districts. It is difficult to convey, in words, an adequate idea of the blessings conferred on India by means of Jenner's discovery, which, it is only just to state, is infinitely better applied and appreciated in the cities of Bombay and Kurrachee and many other places in India than in some parts of England at the present time. The system, however, is not by any means perfect. There are many weak points in it which require the most careful consideration and attention. For instance, the control and supervision of vaccination in all Feudatory States should be absolutely in the hands of Government. This has been, in vain, repeatedly urged as a precautionary measure of self-defence in the interests of our own fellow-subjects. The standard of excellence of vaccination as a protective against smallpox can only be properly judged by an expert, hence the importance of seeing that *primary* work is thoroughly honest and efficient, as it is seldom people take the trouble to get themselves re-vaccinated. Without careful inspection and testing of lymph, and comparing the results of operations on children's arms with the records of vaccinators and village registers, returns and figures are a delusion and a snare, as they give merely a sense of false security against the ravages of the most loathsome of diseases. In addition to the good work of vaccination done by the Sanitary Department, it is right to mention that the improvement in vital and mortal statistics effected of late years is due to the care and attention of the Deputy Sanitary Commissioners, in whose offices the Births and Deaths Registers are compiled from the vernacular returns received through the different departments.

The inspection of towns and villages as regards water-supplies, drainage, and conservancy, conferring with local authorities, and writing careful reports on these important

subjects take up a great deal of the time of sanitary officers, but it is to be regretted that the results of their efforts in this direction cannot be said to be so successful as that of their statistical and vaccination work, because little or no attention is ever given to their reiterated recommendations and suggestions, which, in fact, are not unfrequently treated with sneering disdain by officials deplorably ignorant of what hygiene and sanitary science has done to ameliorate human environments, improve health, and prolong life.

Truth in this case may seem stranger than fiction, but though bitter, it may prove more wholesome than a policy of *laissez faire* on the subject. The old order of things must, in the course of time, pass away. Exposing a public evil is often half its cure, and the discovery and removal of its cause should lead to satisfactory results and the good of the greatest number.

Sanitation in India should not be left to the whims of local governments and municipalities, but controlled and carried out directly by the Imperial Government, thereby securing efficiency and economy as well as unity and uniformity. The home system might with advantage form the basis of a scheme for Sanitary Reform in India, with the necessary modifications in regard to area and population.

The question of caste is a most important one in the training and appointment of sanitary inspectors. No one whose religious views or prejudices regarding contact with noxious matter intervene should be appointed. Each municipality should have one or more trained inspectors as may be considered necessary under the orders and direction of the Civil Surgeon or Health Officer, with an adequate conservancy establishment. In non-municipal towns, and groups of villages, the supervision of sanitary inspectors should be entrusted to the Divisional Deputy Sanitary Commissioner, who would be held responsible by the head of his own department, that the sanitation of the different areas is receiving careful attention.

The Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of

India should be consulted on all sanitary projects and schemes before being carried out, and during his annual tours could satisfy himself on the spot in regard to local conditions and needs. The sanitary engineering should be devised and conducted by *specialists*, not by men who have been digging canals or dumping metal on roads most of their time, and who have suddenly set themselves up as amateur sanitary engineers. As a rule ordinary civil engineers are no more fit for sanitary work than general medical practitioners are for the duties of health officers, without special study and training. The real and pressing want for India is a scientific corps of men, invested with sufficient power, to regulate and amend the willing efforts of judiciously constituted district authorities, and controlled by a Board or Council at Simla of such administrative capacity and skill as would constitute them fit representatives of modern sanitary science and engineering.

The abolition of the Bombay and Madras Commanders-in-Chief would seem to indicate the advisability of the Governors of these Presidencies being replaced by Lieutenant-Governors similar to Bengal, the Punjab and North-west Provinces, the area and population of each of these provinces being much greater than that of either Madras or Bombay, should form a just basis of comparison for administrative purposes. The savings in Councils, Military Secretaries, A.D.C.'s, Body Guards and Bands, and excessive office establishments, would prove to be very considerable, as such expensive and superfluous trappings are dispensed with by Lieutenant-Governors.

There is no reason to fear that either Madras or Bombay would in any way suffer by the change of mere designation from Presidency to Province, or would not be quite as efficiently ruled by an experienced Lieutenant-Governor, as by the present costly and showy system, and the economy effected would be so much contributed towards averting famine and epidemics by extension and improvements in irrigation and sanitation. It is difficult to under-

stand the necessity for a military secretary when the Governor is a civilian, and has no military functions to discharge. It may be urged in behalf of the Councils that they are required to direct and instruct Governors sent out from home without any experience of the work for which they are so handsomely remunerated by the State; but this surely would seem an irresistible argument for the abolition of both Governors and Councils, and the substitution of Lieutenant-Governors experienced in Indian administration. Reform in this respect is so obviously called for, that it cannot be much longer delayed, and it is hoped that in the interests of public health the Sanitary Department will be made something more than a name, and permitted to do its own work without the interference of other departments as has heretofore been the case. For the information and guidance of these departments, I may cite the ancient proverb quoted by Pliny—" *Ne sutor ultra crepidam.*"

A MAHOMEDAN UNIVERSITY.

BY SALAHUDDIN KHUDA BUKHSH, B.A. (OXON.).

THE death of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan—the prophet and apostle of Moslem rejuvenescence—is indeed a great blow to the Moslem community; but though his commanding figure is removed by death, yet the impulse communicated by him to education and reform is of a sufficiently enduring character.

His life reminds one of the life of the celebrated Cassiodorus. Like the Minister of Theodoric, he stood at the confines of two ages; like him he witnessed the close of one epoch and the beginning of another. But as the resemblance is striking, so is the difference. While with Cassiodorus the learning of Rome was buried in the monastery, with Syed Ahmed the fusion of Eastern and Western culture was brought into the forum. He toiled incessantly at the social regeneration of his countrymen, and, consciously or unconsciously, moved along the path of reform which was opened by Goethe, followed by Heine, and imitated by others of lesser note. He worked for the liberation of humanity, “the deliverance of men from inherited usage and rigid and unquestionable law.” To dethrone the uncompromising and inflexible lawgiver custom, which exercises a more powerful influence in the East than in the West, to adapt himself to circumstances and to be abreast of the march of civilization; this was the burden of his life-long teaching. That at the outset he was deemed a setter-forth of strange things, is true; but, like every moral teacher, he has overcome the resistance, and strongly impressed the generation with his personality. To measure with any precision the imperceptible and subtle influence which a reformer must exercise on his contemporaries, is indeed impossible; but whatever may have been the merit of his La vitical and religious teaching, we

must hand him the palm for giving a successful start to Moslem education on a European basis, and for sweeping away the accumulated cobwebs of superstition which hung round Islam.

When Syed Ahmed Khan began his career of reform, his path was strewn with innumerable difficulties, and pessimists might have been induced to inscribe Ichabod! Ichabod! at the gates of Islam; but, at the end of his stewardship, we contemplate with pleasure the dangers dispersed and a promise of a fair journey.

Education, he thought, would be the panacea for the social and intellectual distempers under which the Moslem community was labouring. With unremitting ardour he worked for the education of his co-religionists, and succeeded in founding the Aligarh College which, at the outset, earned for him intense unpopularity; for it was based on a European system of education.

As decades rolled on his work appeared in truer and clearer light, and won the applause and admiration which at first it failed to do. Indeed, to-day the college numbers about five hundred students from all parts of India; and the Syed had the satisfaction of seeing the triumph of his labour.

He keenly felt for the degradation of the Moslem community, and was never tired of impressing upon his people the fact, that it was simply due to their own inactivity and apathy, that the light of Moslem learning, which shone so brightly through the dark days of the Middle Ages, was quenched, and the voice of the professors which resounded in the lecture-rooms at Damascus and Baghdad, Cairo and Cordova, was silenced. Large-minded and broad-minded as he was, yet reverence for Islam was deep-rooted in him, and the lesson taught by him, that the more the Moslems departed from the spirit of Islam the nearer they approached their fall, ought never to be wasted on them.

Other Moslem writers have followed the Syed's footsteps; and the poet Hali—a professed disciple of the Syed—has

brought home to the Moslems of India the sense of their shame and sorrow, and has put the picture of their condition in bold relief by raising before their intellectual vision the deathless might and majesty of their past.

If, indeed, their empire has gone beyond recall, there is no reason why they should not become an important element in the British Empire and occupy an honourable position in the republic of letters.

Whatever other faults the early Moslems may have had, they were essentially tolerant and essentially literary. Learning was their pride. While the world around them was guided by smaller passions and stirred by meaner impulses, they devoted themselves to higher callings and nobler pursuits of learning. The sons of the desert were lost in the men of letters of Baghdad and Cordova. The innumerable colleges and libraries were the striking feature wherever was unfurled the banner of Islam. The Madrassas of Baghdad, of Kufa, and Bassora, have been rightly compared to modern Universities,* since all the science then known was taught there. As the subject is not altogether without interest, we may take a cursory view of education among the Moslems of different parts of the world at different times. "It is generally mentioned by Arabic historians that the first Madrassa (place of study) was founded at Baghdad in the year 459 of the Hegira (A.D. 1066) by the celebrated Nizam-al-mulk. This statement has led some European writers to assert that the first Arabian Academy, or College, was established by that vizier. The idea which they attach to these words is not, however, very clear. If they mean that an academy or a college is an institution which students must frequent that they may obtain their degrees, they are wrong in supposing Madrassas to be the first establishment of the kind; and if they add that the academies were civil foundations endowed with real estates, and containing chambers or cells in which the students lodged, they are still wrong in the date, for,

* Marrast, "*La Vie Byzantine*," p. 321.

according to a very good authority, a Madrassa was founded at Nishapûr for Abû Ishak-al-Isfarâini, the celebrated Shâfite doctor and professor, who we know died A.H. 418.*

The love of study in the Moslem Empire penetrated the higher as well as the lower strata of society. The literary patronage and munificence of Harun and Mamun and Hakam have become a watchword and proverbial among the Moslems, but they were not the only Caliphs who encouraged learning. It was the exception not to do so. To mention a few: The Caliph Mustansir founded a college called Mustansiriah, and added a library to it, which contained, according to a historian, 80,000 volumes.† In A.H. 343, Abu Nasr-Sabur, son of Ardeshir, founded an institution for literary and scientific purposes, and gave to it a large library of which mention has been made in Ibn Athir, Imad-ed-din Ispahani and Bandari.

It is related by the historian Kemal-ed-din, that when Murtedi-ed-Daulah, Prince of Aleppo, was forced to leave Aleppo, his palace was sacked in his absence, and, among other things, a large number of books, richly bound, were taken. It is further noted that the catalogue of the books was in his own handwriting.

Ahmed Askalani, the historian, speaking of the famous grammarian Mahomed Firuzabadi, author of the *Kamus*, says that he was so passionately fond of his books that he would never travel without carrying a large number with him. In Spain pre-eminently it was that the Moslem learning flourished most exuberantly; and we must remember the words of a great author that "the whole civilization of Mahomedan Spain was essentially Arabian."‡

Interesting as the subject is, we shall not stray off into a discussion on the Moslem learning in the past, although it is by recalling the past that we can inspire in them a

* "Ibn Khallikan," Slane's Translations. Introduction, pp. xxvii-xxviii vol. i.; see Wüstenfeld, "Die Akademien der Araber."

† Quatremère, "Melanges d'Histoire," pp. 1-39. There is a splendid account of learning among the Moslems.

‡ Freeman, "Saracen Conquest," p. 135.

keener taste and a livelier enthusiasm for study. Sir Syed's founding of the Aligarh College touched the chord which had lain silent for centuries. The Moslems responded to his clarion, and the very success of the institution is a guarantee of the fact that the efforts of a noble life had not been wasted on a barren soil. That the tide of education has set in, in the Moslem community, is further proved by the recent proposal to found a Mahomedan University, thus crowning the edifice reared by our late lamented leader. To those interested in the welfare of the Moslem community no news could have given greater pleasure and deeper satisfaction. At this juncture, when the Moslem society of India is restless with new ideas and new aspirations, the proposal is indeed "glad tidings of great joy." It would be an undoubted means of diffusing among them the education, which, in spite of the efforts of Syed Ahmed Khan, is at a very low ebb. Sir Henry Maine, in a paper which he read before the Calcutta University, said: "It is very difficult for any people to feel self-respect if they have no pride in their own annals," but he also went on to say that this feeling is too apt to be exaggerated for the worse. It is, however, difficult to see why it should be injurious.* Even a pure fancy picture evolved out of the brain of the writer, is productive of some good effect, in so far as it lays before the people an ideal to be cherished, adored, and imitated. The foundation of a Mahomedan University in India will at once recall to the Mahomedans their own seats of learning in the past, and will be an incentive to distinguish themselves again and once more climb back to the intellectual eminence from which they seem to have hopelessly fallen. The experiment is at all events worth the trial. The number of Mahomedan students who pass the examination of the Indian Universities is infinitesimal compared to their Hindu brethren; and it might perhaps be said that the Indian Universities have done but little towards the furtherance of knowledge amongst the Moslems.

* Maine, "Village Communities," p. 289.

Apart from this consideration, which might not easily commend itself to our Hindu brethren, there are others which well deserve reflection and deliberation. Not the most devoted and loyal son of the Indian University will be prepared to deny that there is ample room for modification and reform in the present régime of education, and indeed, what could be more desirable than to establish a University on a better and more liberal basis : a university which should not only train the intellect, but also form the character of its students ?

Indian Universities, unlike Oxford and Cambridge, are merely examining bodies ; and, consequently, from the nature of the things, the students are deprived of the social advantages which constitute the most attractive, and perhaps the most important side of the life at Oxford and Cambridge.

The majority of the men of this century who have played, and are playing, a conspicuous rôle in the political and religious world, are drawn from one or other of these universities, where was trained, if not learnt, their "high seriousness," which rendered them fit for high vocations and high destiny. Besides the advantages which a teaching university affords to its students, the Indian Universities are so worked that specialization is practically impossible, and to this is due the paucity of distinguished scholars of which the Indian University can boast. To remedy these very evils, and to give greater facility and scope to the Moslems for education, the idea of founding a Mahomedan University has been conceived. Should the scheme be realized, the Moslem schools and colleges will be affiliated to it, and the university will become the primary focus of Moslem learning in India.

Its beneficial effects will indeed be immeasurable and incalculable. It would create greater unity and greater harmony between the Moslems of different parts of India ; it would awaken interest in the study of Oriental languages, which, of late, has been sadly neglected ; by modelling itself on Oxford it would furnish opportunities of specialization,

and (what is of great moment) political education would follow in the wake of social education.

Some objections to the proposal have been suggested. Some think that it would be barren of any good ; others, that it would intensify the differences which already exist between the Hindus and the Mahomedans. We need hardly pay any serious attention to the first objection, but the second demands some consideration. It is a melancholy fact that differences exist between Hindus and Mahomedans ; but these discordant passions are not likely to be inflamed by the foundation of a Mahomedan University. The only power which can hush the discords and compose the differences is education, and any attempt to further it, is a step towards better feeling and better mutual understanding. When education has widened the range of sympathy and broadened the spirit of tolerance, then alone the idolatry of time-honoured institutions and customs will completely cease, and Hindus and Mahomedans will look upon themselves as one and the same people. But, indeed, this is one of the pious visions which high souls dream. It is as beautiful and brilliant as the dreams of a parliament of man, a federation of the world and universal peace : dreams very beautiful and brilliant, but nevertheless too dim and too distant to be real for many generations to come.

The cost of the University has been estimated at ten lakhs of rupees ; and subscriptions have been invited. The enthusiasm with which the proposal has been received and subscriptions offered opens a fair and smiling prospect.

The Government of India has readily lent its moral support, and the subscriptions which have poured in from Anglo-Indian quarters attest their sympathy.

It is indeed to be hoped that the plan will be successful, that it will embrace physical and social, as well as intellectual training, and will be a means of insuring the loyalty of the Mahomedans to the British Government on the one hand, and of winning the confidence of the Government on the other.

AN UNPUBLISHED PAPER OF WELLESLEY ON THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

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WHEN I was writing the Life of the Marquess of Wellesley for the *Rulers of India* Series I came across an interesting scheme for the improvement of the Indian Government among the papers at the India Office. The document, which is here printed verbatim, is among the Fisher Papers, and is numbered 306 (2,207). It is marked on the outside in another hand, "Lord Wellesley's plan for an improvement in the Government of India, with Mr. Dundas's opinion thereon." The plan itself is written on one side of the paper, and opposite are notes, probably in Dundas's own hand. The document is undated, but it must have been written before April, 1800, and was probably composed after the capture of Seringapatam, and when the Governor-General had had a year's experience of the difficulties of his position. It is clear from Dundas's letter of March 21, 1799, that he had discussed certain of the "affairs of the Coromandel Coast" with Lord Mornington before his departure for India, and I am inclined to date this memorandum between the receipt of the letter of March 21, 1799, at Calcutta on August 5, 1799, and Lord Mornington's letter of March 5, 1800. It is clearly an informal sketch, and I do not think the scheme was ever formally developed, though some of the suggestions were eventually carried out.

A "review of the constitution of the Governor-General" was, however, drawn up by the Governor-General in Council on July 9, 1800, and addressed to the Honourable Court of Directors (Wellesley Despatches, vol. ii., p. 85). This, naturally enough, did not contain the references to the necessity of authority from the Crown which occur in the document now printed for the first time. The Marquess of

Wellesley's views as to the subordinate position which the Government of the other Presidencies should occupy are expressed in a highly characteristic letter to Lord Clive, Governor of Fort S. George, dated July 29, 1798 (Wellesley Despatches, vol. i., p. 230).

It is clear from another document in the India Office (Fisher Papers, 308 [2,209]) that the scheme was considered by others besides Dundas. On April 16, 1800, Mr. Bragg wrote his opinion of it, especially in regard to the proposed union of the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay. He stated that the union could be accomplished by an Act of Parliament abolishing the Bombay Presidency and vesting all its powers in that of Madras. He urged the expediency of transferring the seat of Government to Seringapatam, a curious suggestion, of which no more seems to have been heard. He strongly supported a scheme for establishing a more worthy system of judicature for the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras, and suggested that the simplest and best plan would be "to establish a supreme court of judicature at Madras exactly similar to that existing at Calcutta."

With this brief introduction I will leave Lord Wellesley's sketch, which I think will be recognised to be of considerable historical interest, to speak for itself.

1. With the exception of the Propriety of uniting the Courts of Coromandel and Malabar under that Presidency, I do not think there is any pressing necessity for the changes here suggested. If the Governor-General has not the power of suggesting a Vice-President to act when he is absent, there is no reason why he should not have that power.

Ceylon must remain on its present footing till the conclusion of the war, when it may be finally decided whether it shall be referred to the Company or remain with the King; and even if it should be given

1. The whole of the British possessions in India to be governed by a Governor-General and two Councils (supposing the Governments of Bombay and Ceylon to be abolished and annexed to the Presidency of Fort St. George), one at Fort St. George, the other at Fort William, with Vice-Presidents to each.

2. The Governor-General to change his place of residence occasionally, and to control every part of the detail of both Governments. The Vice-Presidents not to be the Commanders-in-Chief, nor named occasionally by the Governor-General

to the Company, I think it very doubtfull (*sic*) if the Principles by which it is to be governed are not of a nature so distinct from those of the Peninsula of India as to render it proper to keep it a separate Government.

By the letters from Madras and Bombay the Recorder's Court seems to meet with considerable obstruction from the Aldermen, and it is worthy of consideration if a Court on the principles of the Supreme Judicature at Calcutta would not be proper in the event of the Courts of Coromandel and Malabar forming one presidency.

This seems hardly proper, and the mode of doing it to be considered by his Majesty's own Generals.

As to the Navy, I suspect nothing more can be obtained but an injunction to the Commanders on [British possessions*] the station to act in concert with the Supreme Government of India.

but to be appointed from England. The Vice-President to have all the same powers as the Governor-General in Council (subject to the authority of the Governor-General) excepting in the presence of the Governor-General, but no appointment of any kind to take place at either Presidency otherwise than until the pleasure of the Governor-General shall be known, so that the whole of the Company's patronage in India shall be immediately subject to the control of the Governor-General.

3. Under this plan the Vice-President in Bengal would be to be added to the number of the present Council, and his salary should be placed on a higher scale than that of the other Councillors. At Madras the Council will stand as it does at present, and the salary of the Governor would admit of a reduction. Neither of the Vice-Presidents to succeed to the Governor-General permanently.

4. The Governor-General always to be a peer of Great Britain, it being absolutely necessary to the maintenance of his authority in India that he should be a person of high rank. He should also be a person, if not conversant in Indian affairs (which is the most desirable), at least well accustomed to public business.

5. Nothing would tend so much to the improvement of the Government as that the Governor-General should be invested with a commission from the Crown. This is in every respect essential, but more particularly to the exercise of an effective control over the King's Army and Navy. The safety of the British possessions in India requires

* These words are struck through in the MS.

that a very large force of Europeans (which must consist of the King's troops) should constantly be maintained in India. If on an emergency the Governor-General possessed no authority over these, the consequences might be fatal.

6. An effective control over the Navy is equally necessary, the Naval officers having frequently refused to conform to the established rules laid down by the respective Governments of India for the order and security of the Ports and Rivers. At the commencement of the present war, the Commander of His Majesty's ships in India quitted his station without giving the least intimation of his intention to any of the Governments; and there is an instance during the Government of Lord Teignmouth of a large fleet having been detained for a considerable time in the Bengal river by a single frigate, to the great prejudice of the Company's interests.

If there is any defect in the Legislative Government of India, it ought undoubtedly to be remedied, for it is an essential ingredient of Indian Government that the Legislative authority for its exterior administration should be exercised on the spot, and by every means the Detail of it kept out of the British Parliament.

The Governor-General's powers of legislation for Calcutta are also very defective. There is now no power of making any regulations for Calcutta without the concurrence of the judges of the Supreme Court under the old Law. As the Law now stands, it is supposed that the Governor-General in Council has no right to impose any tax on Articles of Consumption at Calcutta, and if any person were to object to the payment of such a tax, the Supreme Court would probably be under the necessity of determining in favour of any such application. These defects in the Governor-General's powers of legislation are attended with great inconvenience, and should immediately be remedied by Law.

I have already noticed that if there is any Defect of a Person to preside in the absence of the Governor-General or the President of the other settlements it ought to be remedied.

H. D.

7. Great inconvenience arises from no provision being made in the Act of Parliament for sittings in Council without the actual presence of the Governor or Governor-General, so that if the Governor happens to be indisposed or occupied by business of a more urgent nature, the current affairs of the Government must be stopped until he is able to be personally present in Council. The expedient of naming a Vice-President under the present Law cannot be used in such cases without much inconvenience. It would therefore be useful to make a provision that in the absence of the Governor-General the Senior Members of Council (or the Vice - Presidents under the new Law) should preside, but that if the Governor or Governor-General should then be residing at the Presidency, no Act in the Council should be valid until signed by him.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CURRENCY IN THE FAR EAST.*

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THE development from its commencement of the currency in any given part of the world is always a very wide subject, and would require far more time for its elucidation than is contained within the allotted limits of a single article. I will therefore merely now say, as regards the earlier and more primitive forms of currency known to exist, or to have existed, in the world, that they are all to be found in the East; where indeed, the details of the whole scale of any form of civilization are to be found coexistent at any given period. It is this in fact that makes study in India and the East so fascinating: the existence side by side, in their crudest and most patent manifestations, of the earliest and latest forms of all things human.

Academically and popularly the most interesting part of the study of my subject unquestionably lies in its earlier stages. They are certain to rouse curiosity, and I feel that I should be sure of exciting interest, if I were to dilate now upon the rise of currency and coinage, step by step, from barter pure and simple, by examples culled from the Far East; if I were to trace the rise of the conception of standards of weight as applied to metals used for money, *i.e.*, Troy weight, from rude measures of capacity, by examples similarly culled; if I were to show how and why, not only the conceptions, but the very terminology of Troy weight, currency and coinage are inextricably mixed up in the Oriental mind; if I were to state in detail the great array of articles that have been used in the Far East as currency, which are not bullion, and to explain their use; if I were to point out how the currency of the cubic contents of non-bullion money, measured by size, preceded

* For the discussion on this paper, see "Proceedings of the East India Association," elsewhere in this Review.—*Ed.*

and steadily led to the currency of the cubic contents of bullion money, measured by weight.

It is possible to show directly from data still procurable in the East, that the idea of currency arose before those of Troy weight and coined money, and to explain how it arose. It is possible thus to show also how the terminology devised for conventional cubic measures of articles commonly required was transferred to the weights of the metals for which they could be bartered, and thus to the currency. It is possible further to show why, to the vast majority of the Oriental world, currency means the conventional weights of the exchange metals, and coins have no commercial meaning at all, except in their relation to the weights of the pieces of metal of which they are composed.

For the present purpose I have to insist on this last point. It is quite impossible to separate the terms for currency and Troy weight in the Far East, and the history of the development of the one is the same thing as the history of the development of the other. The most practical and the clearest way to treat the question is as one of the history of Troy weight.

Interesting and exceedingly picturesque as the details of the points I have thus very briefly referred to would be, I am obliged to pass on quickly to that part of the subject which it is my immediate object now to discuss—the development of the forms of currency in the Far East existing at the present day, and bearing an established relation to coined money or to bullion. It is the most difficult, and in an academical sense the least interesting, but I hope that it will be conceded that it is by far the most important part of my general subject.

To make myself quite clear in the remarks that follow, I wish to explain that by Troy weight I mean the conventional standard weights of the exchange metals, *i.e.*, of bullion. By currency I mean what our forefathers used to call Imaginary or Ideal Money, *i.e.*, money of account or exchange—the means by which the commercial world is

able to balance its books. By money, as differing from currency, I mean what was of old called Real Money, *i.e.*, coins or tokens of credit convertible into property.

With these remarks I will now attack our present problems, asking for the reader's kind and close attention. I do this because the argument has to be so close, and the subject is so difficult, that I cannot help it.

I must begin by stating that all the existing Troy weights and currencies in India and the Far East are based on one, and sometimes on both, of two seeds, which are known to Europeans as the seeds of the *Abrus precatorius* and the *Adenanthera pavonina*. I must ask that these two names be borne in mind, and I will call them in my arguments the *abrus* and the *adenanthera*. The *abrus* is a lovely little creeper yielding a small bright red seed with a black spot on it. The *adenanthera* is a great deciduous pod-bearing tree, having a bright red seed. Conventionally the *adenanthera* seed is double of the *abrus* seed. Now, as will be presently seen, our subject literally bristles with every kind of difficulty, and here, at the very beginning, is the first. The weights represented by the two seeds have everywhere and at all times been mixed up. The terms for the *abrus* and its conventional representatives have been applied to the *adenanthera*, and *vice versâ*, both by native writers and European translators and reporters. As a result of the same kind of confusion of mind, whole systems of currency have been borrowed from outside by half-civilized and ill-informed rulers and Governments, and brought arbitrarily into existence, starting on the wrong foot, as it were. The unlimited muddle thus arising may be easily imagined, and so, too, may the amount of investigation necessary to unravel the resultant tangle.

With this preliminary information as to the fundamental basis thereof, let us proceed to inquire into the Indian Troy weight system, because I hope to show that the whole currency of the Far East is based on it, or is at least directly connected with it.

Based on the conventional *abrus* seed, there were in

ancient, or at any rate in old, *i.e.*, in undiluted Hindu, India, two concurrent Troy scales, which, for the present purpose, I will call the literary and the popular scales. For the present purpose also, and for the sake of clearness, I will call the *abrus* seed of convention in the literary scale by one of its many ancient names, *raktikâ*, and in the popular scale by one of its many modern names, *ratî*.

In the Indian Troy scales, then, the lower denominations represented in each case the *abrus* seed, but the upper denominations differed greatly; *i.e.*, in the literary scale there were 320 *raktikâs* to the *pala*, and in the popular scale there were 96 *ratîs* to the *tôlâ*. These facts are presented in the old books, and in innumerable reports of local and general scales spread over many centuries, in a most bewildering maze of forms and details, but it may be taken from one who has studied them for years that they are essentially as above stated.

I have differentiated the concurrent scales by the titles of literary and popular, because the former is that which alone is to be found in the classical books, and the latter is the scale which the Muhammadan conquerors found to be everywhere in use on their irruptions in the eleventh and subsequent centuries of the Christian Era. That the two scales were actually concurrent for many centuries is shown by the antiquity of some of the works in which the literary scale is quoted, by the fact that the details of the popular scale are traceable to the old Greek scales, at any rate clearly in part, and by the quotations of both concurrently for purely mathematical purposes by the author of the *Lilâvatî* in the twelfth century.

Permit me now to ask for special attention to what I have just stated, *viz.*, the existence in India of two concurrent Troy scales—a literary one of 320 *raktikâs* to the *pala*, and a popular one of 96 *ratîs* to the *tôlâ*. I do so because it is on this cardinal fact that the coming arguments are based.

Now, as might be expected, it is the popular scale that the practical Muhammadan conquerors caught up, shifting

and changing the details in substance and in name to suit their own preconceived ponderary notions, but adhering strictly to its main features and essential points, and spreading it everywhere, so far as their influence or authority extended. They never varied materially from the great fact of the scale, that 96 *ratīs* made a *tôlâ*.

So when the Europeans came—the Portuguese, the Dutch, the English, the French—that was the scale, which, with an endless variety of intermediate detail it is true, they found spread far and wide along the Indian coasts and ports: that was the scale they reported, more or less incorrectly and ignorantly in their various languages, in all its bewildering nomenclature: that was the scale they eventually and in due course ill-treated with new names and small changes to an almost infinite extent. To attempt, as I have done elsewhere,* to dive into the jungle of Indo-European Troy weight is to plunge into a very thick tangle indeed. However, the result of any such attempt will, to my mind, show that, despite ill-treatment and misreporting, the scale has never altered materially, and is now, and substantially has always been, what it was originally—96 *ratīs* to the *tôlâ*.

It is, indeed, this combined Græco-Indo-Muhammadan scale, which has at last spread itself, under British guidance, all over modern India, becoming crystallized in one form of it, the North Indian, in the authorized general scale of the Imperial Government—in other forms of it in the authorized scales of the great Governments of Madras and Bombay.

So far, then, we have arrived at one distinct notion, viz., that it is the popular scale of 96 *ratīs* to the *tôlâ* which has settled itself down on India. What, then, has become of the old literary scale of 320 *raktikās* to the *pala*? Is it dead? Not by any means, as will be presently seen. In the first place, though South India is now given over to the popular scale, so pronounced a stronghold of Hinduism is not likely to have lost all trace of the literary scale, and indeed it is there that the most interesting struggle between

* *Vide Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxvii., p. 63 ff. and p. 85 ff.

rough and ready Muhammadan innovation and dreamy Hindu conservatism is observable in the various existing native nomenclatures of the weight and coinage systems.

But there is a far stronger proof than this of the vitality of the literary scale. It does not require much imagination to suppose that the literary scale was not a literary invention, and that it, or something very like it, must once have had a concrete existence. The proof of the correctness of such a supposition lies in the fact, that it is the literary, and not the popular scale, which is found to have spread itself everywhere in the Far East.

I fear that the mere indication of the proof of this fact will require as close attention from the reader as the arguments I have already imposed. The subject is, indeed, as full of difficulties as a brush is of bristles. In the first place, in order to make clear the inductive argument I am bound now to follow, I have to take him over the Far East the wrong way round, historically speaking, viz., into Burma, Siam, and Shan-land, then into China, Cambodia, Annam, Tongking, and Cochín-China generally, and thence, through Malay-land to the Far - Eastern International Commercial Community of the present day.

The modern popular Burmese Troy weight system, in its existing forms, does not suggest anything Indian, and it is only by examination that its unquestionable identity with the Indian literary scale comes out. To begin with, all the terms are purely Burmese, and the scale runs thus :

DIAGRAM I.

2 ywê	...	...	...	make 1 ywêjî or great ywê
4 ywêjî	...	...	...	make 1 pè
2 pè	...	...	...	make 1 mû
2 mû	...	...	...	make 1 màt
4 màt (128 ywê)	...	...	...	make 1 kyàt or tickal
5 kyàt	...	...	...	make 1 bôl

640 ywê

320 ywêjî

Now, the *ywê* is the *abrus* seed, and the *ywêjî*, or great *ywê*, is the *adenanthera* seed, the latter, you observe, being

double of the former. But this does not help us, because, it will have been seen, 128 *ywê* make a *kyàt*, and the *kyàt* represents neither the *tôlâ* nor the *pala*. However, there happens to be the further denomination, now practically obsolete, but constantly occurring in the older books, called the *bôl*. Five *kyàt* made a *bôl*, and therefore 640 *ywê* ran to a *bôl*. Here the sweet confusion of the two standard seeds, already explained, comes into play, for the Burmese, in taking over the Indian literary scale bodily, as it can be otherwise shown that they did, confused the actual and the conventional *raktikâ*, and therefore all their Troy statements must be cut down by half, and thus 320 *ywê* make a *bôl*. In other words the *bôl* is the same thing as the *pala*, as an upper Troy weight. There is no doubt whatever that this is so, and, moreover, it can be clearly shown that *bôl* is etymologically the form that the Indian word *pala* would properly assume on being adopted into the Burmese language.

So here we have the link we are seeking to show that the Indian literary scale of 320 *raktikâs* to the *pala* spread over the Indian borders among the peoples further East possessed of the Indo-Chinese civilization. I ask this point, too, to be borne in mind, for it is another fundamental point in the argument.

I now ask the reader to step over for a moment into Siam and Shanland. Here we have as much confusion in terminology and presentment of fact as before, but, as the outcome of a very long inquiry, I am able to present a comparative table, on which I may fairly ask him to rely, of the Burmese and Siamese Troy weight systems, thus :

DIAGRAM II.

<i>Burmese.</i>	<i>Siamese-Cambodian.</i>
4 <i>ywêjî</i> make 1 <i>pè</i>	5 <i>hüng</i> make 1 <i>pê</i>
2 <i>pè</i> make 1 <i>mû</i>	2 <i>pê</i> make 1 <i>fûang</i>
2 <i>mû</i> make 1 <i>mât</i>	2 <i>fûang</i> make 1 <i>salüng</i>
4 <i>mât</i> make 1 <i>kyàt</i>	4 <i>salüng</i> make 1 <i>bât</i>
5 <i>kyàt</i> make 1 <i>bôl</i>	4 <i>bât</i> make 1 <i>tâmlüng</i>
<hr/> 320	<hr/> 320

Now, I wish to draw attention here to the following special points. Firstly, though the terminology and the subdivisions differ entirely, the fundamental fact remains, that the upper and lower denominations of both scales are identical. Secondly, the Siamese scale is practically identical with the Burmese, because the *hüing* is undoubtedly the *adenanthera* seed, as the *ywêjî* has been seen to be, and both are equally connected with the Indian literary scale. Thirdly, I have called the Siamese scale the Siamese-Cambodian scale. I have done this, because, however little it may be the case now, the old Cambodian scale was identical with the Siamese, a fact which takes the wanderings of the Indian literary scale pretty far East. Indeed, the reason why I said that I was taking the wrong way round historically is, that, in my belief, the Indian literary scale of 320 *raktikâs* to the *pala* came into Indo-China viâ Malay-land, by way of Cambodia into Siam, and thence into Burma.

I presume it is generally known, that the Siamese form part of the great Tai Race, or, as the Burmese and through the Burmese we ourselves, call them, the Shans. The Shans, fundamentally affiliated to the Chinese proper, and once a comparatively homogeneous people of some political importance, now consist of a great number of disunited, and in some instances isolated, tribes, spread over a wide region in the Further East. For the present purpose they are useful, as showing in their notions of currency the influences upon them, exercised by the more compact nationalities which have dominated them. Their ideas of currency have been severally coloured, according to situation, by the Burmese, Siamese, Chinese, and Cambodians, in a way that it has been of great interest to me to observe; and perhaps the most interesting point of all is, that whatever the influence has been, and however much the terms themselves may vary, the denominations used in each sphere of influence can all be stated in terms of each other, point for point, in comparison with what I may now call the

Burmo-Siamo-Cambodian scale. And thus they serve to show the continuous spread of the old Indian literary scale to the Mèkhong at any rate.

Next, I must ask your readers to look round the Malay Archipelago and Peninsula, despite the great and numerous difficulties that must lie in the path of every inquirer in those regions. Imagine a number of semi-civilized and savage tribes, chiefly occupying a very large Archipelago, and they will perceive that two things must be looked for—a great variety in the actual weights of the standard denominations themselves, and puzzling differences in the nomenclature thereof. And they will find both beyond all doubt before they have proceeded far. Indeed, so endless are the variations in the actual weights of the denominations, that in order to arrive at any definite idea of the rise of the modern Malayan Troy weight system, one must trust rather to the denominations, than to the actual weights they now represent in various places for various articles of commerce. And that, too, in spite of the difficulties created by the fact, that the weights are stated by travellers, traders and natives, sometimes in vernacular terms, sometimes in the international commercial terms, and sometimes in a mixture of both.

Patience and study have served, however, to unravel even the mad muddle of the Malayan scales, and to bring out clearly in time the following general average table.

DIAGRAM III.

5 kundarî	...	...	...	make 1 kupong
4 kupong	...	...	...	make 1 mâyam
4 mâyam	...	...	...	make 1 tâhil
4 tâhil	...	...	...	make 1 būngkal

320

Now, the *kundarî* is the candareen, or, in other words, the *adenanthera* seed, *i.e.*, the conventional *raktikâ* of the Indian literary scale. And thus is brought into line with the general Literary and Further Eastern scales the Malayan scale also.

I have now to consider one more point in this connection. With the advent of the Europeans, having dealings in the ports of the whole of the Far East, there arose at once a necessity, for account purposes, for arriving at some common denominators, to which to be able to reduce the conflicting and endlessly varying standards and systems that the traders and adventurers had to confront. The necessity was met, commercial fashion, effectively and practically at a very early period in the history of the dealings, for we find the existing international commercial weight system for the Far East partially in existence, in the notes of traders of the fifteenth century, and in full swing, substantially in the form in which we now have it, as early as the days of the first voyage to the East of the Dutch East India Company in 1595-97. Perhaps it is rather late in the day to do so, but still I think it necessary to point out even now, that this international system is neither in form nor in nomenclature Chinese, but entirely Malayan in origin, being, I believe, based on the Malayan nomenclature of a commercial system of weights used in the Malayo-Chinese trade of the Middle Ages, found to be in existence by the Europeans on their arrival, and eventually modified by them to suit their own requirements.

The international commercial terms are nowadays also used to suit the exigencies of a popular general scale so different in principle from that hitherto described, as I will presently explain, that I feel obliged to exhibit a longish table, which will very clearly bring out its Malayan origin.

DIAGRAM VI.

RISE OF INTERNATIONAL COMMERCIAL TERMS.

<i>Old Malay Forms.</i>		<i>International Commercial Forms.</i>	
Kôndarî, kundarî	Candareen.
Kupong, kûpang	Cobang, copang.
Mâyam, mâs	Mace, mas.
Tâhil, tâil	Tael, tale.
Bûngkal	Buncal.
Katî	Catty.
Pikûl	Picul, pecul.

So far as it deals with matters Malayan, and distinctly in its origin, the international commercial scale, therefore, constitutes the latest development of the ancient Indian scale of 320 *raktikās* to the *pala*.

Now, while I was endeavouring to trace the history of the Troy weight system of modern India, I had very little to say about the literary scale, and had it not been for the excursions Eastwards we have just been making together, it might have been thought that it had died. So also, in considering the Far Eastern systems, it might be thought that the Indian popular scale of 96 *ratīs* to the *tōlā* had failed to commend itself beyond the Indian borders. But all such institutions die hard, and research will show that the literary scale of India has failed to kill its rival, the popular scale, in more than one most interesting instance.

It is the Indian popular scale that has found its way among the wild tribes on the Indian and Tibeto-Burman border—the Chins, the Lushais, the Nagas, the Singphos, the Kachins—and that, too, despite the eclecticism, with which these untrained populations have borrowed their fiscal terms from their neighbours on both sides the borders. Perhaps one of the most interesting instances existing of the evolution of ideas is to be found in the cumbrous and complicated attempts of the most civilized of these border peoples, the Manipuris, to engraft the ideas embodied in the Indian popular scale on to the terminology of their own previously acquired monetary scale—also by the way originally Indian. That scale had no reference to weight at all, but related to the counting of cowries when used as currency.

This point has more than an academic interest, for it is on the basis of dividing the upper Troy denomination into 400 parts, as a survival of the method of counting cowries for currency, that the Indian popular scale has been carried into Nepal, and from Nepal, through its trade with Tibet, far into all sorts of regions, East and North, in Central Asia. And not only that, it is this very relic of savagery,

this memorial of early attempts to meet the necessities of primitive fiscal conditions, that lived on into the highly civilized gold coinage and currency of the great Emperor Akbar, which was itself based on the Indian popular scale of 96 *ratîs* to the *tôlâ*.

But I have kept to the last the best instance of the ground covered by the Indian popular scale in about the least likely place, at first sight, for its occurrence—Ancient China. The case is here based on the badly presented and somewhat, I think, undeservedly discredited researches of my late friend, Terrien de Lacouperie. However, as he has never touched upon the points I am now urging, it is I, and not he, that should be held responsible for what follows.

Terrien de Lacouperie shows, in his cloudy pages, that up to the seventh century A.D. at any rate, and partially up to several centuries later, the old Chinese had a popular scale, which, though it can be compared with the Indian, is, like the Indian, not recognised in the classics. But because this scale contains terms still in use in a very different sense, I wish to mention that I am now speaking of Ancient China only. Thus :

DIAGRAM IV.

<i>Early Indian Popular Scale</i> (<i>Muhammadian Form</i>).				<i>Ancient Chinese Popular Scale.</i>			
8	ratî	...	...	make 1	mâsha		
4	mâsha	...	...	make 1	tânk		
3	tânk	...	...	make 1	tôlâ		
96							
				6	chu	...	...
				2	hwà	...	...
				2	chè	...	...
				2	liàng	...	...
				48			

Now, the *chu* is the conventional *adenanthera* seed, or, roughly, double the *ratî*, and therefore the old *kin* must have represented the *tôlâ*. I have elsewhere,* and perhaps erroneously, worked out the old *kin* to be the Indo-Chinese tickal, which belongs properly to the Indian literary scale. As a matter of practical fact, the *kin* was actually between the *tôlâ* and the tickal ; thus, taking common standards, the

* *Vide Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxvii., p. 29 f.

tôlâ is 180 grains, the *kin* is 195 grains, and the tickal is 225 grains. However this may be, the great fact remains that the Ancient Chinese, even up to medieval times, had a popular Troy scale closely allied to the Indian and directly comparable with it. It is easy to perceive that, since the Indian popular scale is partly due to Greek influence, this consideration opens up a long vista for speculation and inquiry.

Of course, all the world knows that what I have thus described is not the case now, and that the Chinese have for centuries had a decimal scale. This scale seems to have arisen as a convenient way of enumerating the paper currency established in China between the ninth and fifteenth centuries, A.D. It was, under the Mongols in the thirteenth century, of paramount importance and in universal use, and after centuries of confusing struggle, it suppressed the old and popular scale. I put it forward, as a supposition based on their terminology, that the decimal divisions of the notes were transferred to a new use from the old decimal divisions of the Mongol Army.

I thus speak of this fresh scale, because it is going to give trouble. Chinese trade influence has made itself felt clearly all over the Far East, all over Indo-China and Malay-land. It has become paramount in Tongking, Annam and Cochin-China. It has fought hard in the Philippines and in the Sulu Archipelago with many another influence to good purpose. It has made itself felt in the Malay Archipelago and Peninsula, and has strongly affected Burma and Siam. And the result has been that the comprehension of the existing Far Eastern scales is not quite so easy as it might appear from my former remarks. For I regret to say, that wherever one goes, one has to face the more or less plain existence of two concurrent scales: the local variety of the Indian literary, and the local conception of the Chinese decimal. The less plain the fact, the more puzzling the phenomena always are, and in any case it causes confusion where, indeed, very little is to be desired.

Its troublesome presence exists, however, everywhere. In Siam it pleasantly makes the same term half of itself, according to the scale used: in Malay-land it has had the effect of making traders, skippers and travellers, having no doubt clear conceptions of their meaning in their own minds, but not much vernacular knowledge, cheerfully adopt the terms of one scale while using the other: in Burma it has played a kind of practical joke and confused everyone, natives and foreigners. Thus, having carefully learnt that the equivalent of 16 annas makes a *kyàt* or rupee, and that 2 annas make a *mīl*, one naturally expects that half a rupee, *i.e.*, 8 annas, would equal 4 *mīl*. But it does not: it equals 5. So also 10 annas equal 6 and not 5 *mīl*. The little difficulty thus created with 12 annas, which should properly equal 6 *mīl*, is got over by calling them 3 *māt* or quarters, which is correct. Now, all this is not playing the fool on the part of a whole nation. It merely means first, that the Burmese populace has adapted its Troy scale to the British-Indian coinage now current, and next, not being brilliantly endowed with mathematical skill, that it has mixed up the scale borrowed from India with that borrowed from China. In the former 8 *mīl*, and in the latter 10 *mīl*, made a *kyàt*. Thus, in order to face new conditions, the Burmans went straight over from the Indian literary to the Indian popular scale, while adhering to the terminology adopted for the former. In like fashion also, in his gold coinage, the late King, Mindon Min, of Burma, adopted the British-Indian standards, while adhering to the partial decimal system adapted from China. These were both practical measures easily taken, but they caused one investigator, at any rate, a vast deal of inquiry.

The last matter connected with our subject to be seriously affected by Chinese influence was the Far Eastern international commercial scale. This, as I have already said, was in origin Malay, and in the earliest instances in which it comes to light, it is purely Malay in form, too. It is, however, almost as early found current in Chinese form;

then the two forms are found for centuries concurrent, till at last the Chinese form has conquered. Where the two forms differ and agree can be seen thus :

DIAGRAM V.

INTERNATIONAL COMMERCIAL SCALE.

<i>Old Malay Form.</i>	<i>Chinese Decimal Form.</i>
5 candareens make 1 mace	10 candareens make 1 mace
16 mace ... make 1 tael	10 mace ... make 1 tael
20 tael ... make 1 catty (1600)	16 tael ... make 1 catty (1600)
100 catties ... make 1 picul	100 catties ... make 1 picul

Thus it was that the old merchants met the varying conditions they found around them in their own rough-and-ready, but most effective, fashion. But the scale shows a further interesting fact. They found that the tael was not only the upper Troy weight, but also roughly the ounce *avoirdupois*, as they used to call it; so they boldly made 16 tael go to the catty, or pound *avoirdupois*, and 100 catties go to the picul, *i.e.*, the hundredweight or quintal. And thus did they arrive at what they wanted to get at—a standard weight system of reference for the Far East practically on all fours with their own familiar standards of the West.

I have now performed the main task before me in this article, and to meet criticism that, while I promised to write about currency I have written about Troy weight, I must repeat that emphatically the Far Eastern peoples have never separated either the ideas or the denominations of Troy weight and money of account, *i.e.*, of currency. They have gone, indeed, much further, for every such coinage as they have produced has merely been an effort to give practical effect to the conventional denominations of their Troy weight and currency, and thus have all the three subjects of Troy weight, currency and coinage, been always quite inextricably mixed up. It is much the same in India, and the further one takes the inquiry back, the more do the terms for Troy weight and currency and coinage become synonymous, and at no time, even up to the present day, have they become completely separated. So much is this

the case, that in tracing out elsewhere* the history of the Indian terms for bullion weights, I had to include those for money. The only difference between the two sets of scales lies in this, that where money is mentioned, the question of alloy influences the rates at which one denomination is compared with another. To give a concrete example. In South India the number of *fanams* to a pagoda is a conventional proportion in a statement of Troy weights, but the number of *fanams* to a pagoda will vary according to the alloy in any particular sort of *fanam* or pagoda in a statement of current money.

Politically, it is most difficult to formulate any clear lessons from, or to draw any clear comparisons with, these dealings of past days, as the conditions, then and now, vary so essentially. In the days we have been considering, commercial communications were very slow and so uncertain, that Eastern and Western finance could not control or interfere with each other. Finance, indeed, had always to be entirely local. Whereas, in the present days of practically instantaneous communications throughout the globe, finance has become so universal as to be, for all intents and purposes, centralized in a few Western cities. In those days it was the producer rather than the holder of produce, *i.e.*, the merchant, and certainly not the holder of the media of exchange, *i.e.*, the financier, that controlled the markets and held the power in commerce. It was not that the principles of wholesale buying and selling, or of the course of exchange and the profits to be made thereby, were not understood or appreciated. It was that the power to act on them in any but a petty provincial manner was not possessed. Whereas, nowadays the financiers so control the markets and hold the power in commerce, that the great fight for supremacy, and all the personal advantages it brings, lies entirely between the holders of the two great media of exchange, gold and silver.

If anyone will take the trouble to pore over the financial

* *Vide Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxvii., pp. 63 ff., 85 ff..

controversies of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in law-abiding lands, as I have often spent the modicum of leisure at my command in doing, I think it will be found that something like this has happened. At first the producers so held the power, that the fight for wealth was between their two great divisions, the agriculturists and the manufacturers. The agriculturists long prevailed, land acts and the protection of agricultural products being the consequence. Then came the turn of the manufacturers to the detriment of the agriculturists, when succession acts and protection of manufactures as certainly ensued. Meanwhile, causes were at work, which brought the holders of products, *i.e.*, the merchants, to the fore, with free trade as one result; while other causes, chiefly increased communications, brought about that triumph of finance we see everywhere at the present day, and with it the mighty fight for the supreme control between the holders of gold and the holders of silver that is going on around us, as practically the only commercial battle of commanding importance.

It is here only that it seems to me, speaking entirely as an onlooker and student at a distance, that we can bring the old lore to bear on existing conditions. At first, among semi-civilized or early civilized nations we find that exchange was manipulated merely that profit might be made by the Courts and the officials out of the peoples they always misgoverned. It begins with a system of outgoing and in-coming measures. The profit was the difference between the size of the measures employed for weighing in and weighing out the same goods. It is a most interesting and instructive study to watch the effects of this. Where there was political power the difference was as great as oppression dare go. Where there was no political power the difference was fair enough, and was what we should now call "cover," just sufficient to compensate for risk, maintenance, incidental expenses and charges.

Exchange is next seen in the buying of the medium of

one place with the medium of another, the profit or loss in the transaction arising solely out of the difference in the quality of the metal itself, nearly always silver, and the quantity temporarily present in the two places with reference to the quantity of purchasable merchandize. This class of exchange involved the risk and expense of transporting bullion from place to place. Communications, both in frequency and safety, had to be vastly improved before exchange by means of documents representing the medium, such as Bills of Exchange as we now have them, to say nothing of telegraphic transfers, could be brought into play.

Well, at first the general scales we have been carefully examining were kept alive so long, so persistently, and so widely by the Courts and the officials for *their* purposes, and the enormous mass of local variations thereon were created by the merchants and producers for *their* purposes : by the former for profits out of general, and by the latter for profits out of local, exchange, as they understood it. Then when the Europeans came in and created the international commercial scale, which is the furthest point we have been able to reach at present, the trading capital, indeed, was, as now, found in Europe, but the merchant adventurers, as they were then called, had no control over exchange whatever ; and their object accordingly was to ascertain firstly, the most stable medium of exchange, and secondly, a common measure for it. The medium was, as all the world knows, silver, and the common measure the international commercial scale already explained.

The question has now become vastly complicated by new conditions, but it seems to me, as an outsider, with every deference to Royal Commissions and so on, to be the same still as regards the medium itself. It is, indeed, just now overlaid and kept out of sight by the all-engrossing fight between the winners in the great commercial struggle of the ages,—the financiers, holders of gold and holders of silver. But there is still the third defeated party to the general struggle, composed of the producers and the holders

of the produce, whose interest is vitally concerned in the victory of the most stable of the two metals as the medium of exchange—meaning by the most stable metal that in which the values of produce can be most continuously expressed with the least variation. The available evidence on this point is most difficult, because of the difficulty of correctly gauging the precise value of each item in it; but if, as I believe the indications to point, silver is the most stable metal, then I would submit that the one lesson to be learnt from the past, is that it is to the vital interest of the agriculturist, the manufacturer, the merchant, to throw the whole weight of their influence into the struggle between the financiers on the side of silver. In saying this I do not wish to infer that those who now do so are not right, as regards *their* interests, in holding on to gold.

The victory at present lies no doubt with the holders of gold, and this is a victory, which has been brought about by so long and so complicated a series of conditions, which has been won in so fair a fight, which affects so intimately the entire commerce of the world, that one hardly wonders at Governments and responsible statesmen hesitating to take any active step to disturb it, despite the vastness of the other interests concerned.

CHINESE REFORM AND BRITISH INTERESTS.

BY SINICUS.

SOME people assert that British policy has failed in China, while others, like Lord Charles Beresford, say that there never was any British policy to break down. Be that as it may, one thing has been clearly established, and that is, that the British Legation at Peking did not know anything of Kang Yu Wei and his band of Reformers, and of the impending *coup d'état* in the Palace. The Legation was apparently not in touch with Chinese thought and Chinese aspirations at the capital, nor does it appear that the British Minister was kept informed of the contents of the *Peking Gazette*, which is issued daily. That venerable journal, the oldest in the world, contains the edicts of the Emperor or Dowager-Empress and the memorials of the Viceroys, and gives one an insight into the proceedings of the Central Government. In fact, there was no reliable information, on which Sir Claude Macdonald could have acted or advised the Foreign Office. It seems clear, therefore, that, under the present circumstances, the organization of some sort of Intelligence Department attached to the British Legation is a prime necessity. It is scarcely necessary to point out that Russia has already forestalled England in that respect.

China is now in a transition state: the events being enacted are momentous to her, and any false move by any Foreign Power, on insufficient or misleading information, would be fraught with serious consequences in the future. In the sixties, Japan was in a similar plight, but she found a pillar of strength and hope in the wise counsels of the British Minister, Sir Harry Parkes. That Minister was ably and cheerfully served by his assistants, and especially by Messrs. Satow* and Aston, who subsequently attained distinction as Japanese scholars.

* Now Sir Ernest Satow, British Minister to Japan.

At European capitals, social intercourse is an important factor in diplomacy. But at Peking there is no community of language or ideas, and it is difficult to keep up a general conversation. In the seventies, Sir Thomas Wade tried to establish social amenities between the Foreign Legations and the Tsung-li-Yamên, but his attempt was not successful. What the British Minister failed to accomplish was somewhat mitigated, by the suavity and perseverance of the Russian Minister, General Vlangali, and the German Minister, Herr von Brandt, who succeeded in establishing personal relations with Mandarins of the highest rank at Peking.

The policy of the "sphere of influence," which has been successfully applied to the partition of Africa, has been modified into that of the "sphere of interest" to suit the circumstances of China; and this latter policy has again been qualified by that of the "open door." Whether the "door is now open" to the commerce of the world, in all parts of China, is a matter of individual opinion; indeed, Lord Charles Beresford, the true "emissary of civilization" deputed by the Associated Chambers of Commerce of England, after making inquiries on the spot, has come to the conclusion that, in view of Russian activity in Manchuria and of Russian occupation of Niuchuang, one of the Treaty Ports, the "open door" has been shut, and that the British "sphere of interest" in the Yangtze Valley is more of a cosmopolitan than an exclusive nature. It seems clear, then, that England must come to the rescue, if she wishes to maintain her prestige in the Far East, to retain her commercial supremacy, and to "keep face" in respect of her guarantee to uphold the integrity and independence of the Chinese Empire, and of her promise to afford guidance and assistance to China, in the paths of reform and progress. There can be no difficulty in observing such guarantee or fulfilling such promise, because British politicians of all shades of opinion are agreed that the integrity of China must be maintained at all costs, and because the spirit of reform is already abroad in the Empire.

As regards the maintenance of the integrity of China, the first step towards its consummation appears to be the appointment of a responsible Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs, with whom the representatives of Foreign Powers could transact business as at the capitals of Europe. The Tsung-li-Yamên has served its purpose in the past, and must now be superseded by a more efficient and time-saving agency. The ignorance of geography and history of the Ministers of the Yamen lead to a great deal of procrastination and delay, and place the Ministers themselves at a great disadvantage. When negotiations relating to the Tong-king frontier were in progress in 1896, M. Gérard, the French Minister, availed himself of the ignorance of the Mandarins, and pressed for the cession of certain tracts of the Shan States, which had been ceded by England to China, on the express understanding that they must not be transferred to a third Power without England's knowledge or sanction. Such instances of giving way under pressure, through sheer ignorance, may be multiplied.

Such obsequiousness may also be due to pusillanimity or to a conviction as to the futility of all resistance or opposition. The Chinese are a commercial rather than a military race, though, when emergency arises, they can fight as they have fought under Gordon or Tso Tsang Tung. But, at present, they have neither an army nor a navy. They have no leaders on whom they can rely, and consequently they have no discipline, and are ignorant of military science. What they now most urgently require is a stiffening with the military spirit, which will not only give them a little more backbone in their dealings with importunate foreign representatives, but will also enable them to deal with internal disturbances or foreign aggressions. England can be of great service to China in this matter—and to her own advantage, because the prosperity and growth of commerce depend essentially upon the peace and security of a country. Great Britain not only carries 82 per cent. of the total foreign trade with China, whose total gross value, in 1896, was £57,274,000, but pays 76 per cent. of the dues and

duties collected in that trade.* When England has lavished so many million pounds sterling on Egypt, which is not as yet of equal commercial value to China, and when she has presented Lord Kitchener with more than £100,000 to found a Gordon Memorial Collège for the purpose of dispelling the intellectual darkness of the Soudan, and ameliorating its social and moral condition, there is every reason to suppose that China, which has so materially contributed to the wealth and prosperity of England since the days of Queen Elizabeth, will receive full consideration, at the hands of the British public and the British capitalists. Lord Charles Beresford is eminently qualified to assume the rôle of such a spokesman, and no doubt he will not fail to impress on his countrymen the claims China has on British sympathy and British assistance. In connection with this subject, it is for serious consideration for the British public whether a new Woolwich or a Sandhurst might not be founded at Wei-hai-wei for training the nucleus of a Chinese army.

In order to secure the stability and progress of the Chinese Empire, military reform must not be dissociated from civil reform. For inaugurating, in a systematic way, reform in civil, and especially in fiscal matters, it is necessary that a special *Bureau* should be appointed consisting of responsible and experienced Chinese and Manchu Ministers and of competent and trustworthy foreign advisers. As regards the *personnel* of the *Bureau*, public opinion in China would point to H. E. Chang Chih Tung, H. E. Li Hung Chang, and H. E. Jung Lu and H. E. Kang Yi, with H.R.H. Prince Ching as President. The foreign advisers might be of British, American, or Japanese nationality. It is evident that, since the Chinese barriers of exclusion have been broken down, and since China cannot expel or keep out the "western barbarians," she must, for her own sake and for the maintenance of her own integrity and independence, accept reforms on Western lines, and imbibe that spirit of patriotism in her army and navy which is exhibited in Europe and America.

* Colquhoun's *China in Transformation*, pp. 152, 153.

THE UGANDA PROTECTORATE AND ITS RELATION TO THE SUDAN.

BY H. R. FOX BOURNE.

RECENT occurrences in Uganda show, beyond doubt, that the evils and dangers incident to its appropriation as a field for British enterprise still exist. They have been growing and accumulating for more than twenty years, and the time has fully arrived for resolute and more discreet efforts to overcome them. Perhaps the searching and important inquiry on the spot, which is now asked for, may throw greater light upon the whole situation, and make clear the various improvements that are desiderated. The main facts, however, up to last September, are indicated in Blue Books and other public documents.

The Uganda Protectorate dates only from August, 1894. Its antecedents, however, stretch back to April, 1875, when Mr. H. M. Stanley, as he records in his "Through the Dark Continent," converted King Mtesa to Christianity, and, as special correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, addressed a memorable appeal to "the leading philanthropists and the pious people of England." "Here, gentlemen," he exclaimed, "is your opportunity; embrace it! The people on the shores of the Nyanza call upon you. Obey your own generous instincts, and listen to them; and I assure you that in one year you will have more converts to Christianity than all other missionaries can number." It was in response to this appeal that the Church Missionary Society entered the field in 1876, and a French Catholic mission followed in 1877. Both organizations made many converts, but their rivalry caused complications which King Mwanga, Mtesa's unworthy successor, was clever enough to turn to his own advantage. The British East Africa Company took upon itself a task far beyond its powers when, in 1890, it sent Captain Lugard to establish control over the country on its behalf.

Uganda, it may be pointed out, is a sort of tropical

Switzerland, and about as large, peopled chiefly by an agricultural community of Bantu origin, but with a more or less dominant class, known as Wahuma, which probably in distant times migrated from the north and conquered the earlier Waganda settlers. There is a similar variety of race, but with differences, among the inhabitants of Unyoro, to the north, of Ankole, to the west, of Usogo, to the east, and of other adjacent districts, who always claimed to be independent, though suzerainty over them had been asserted, and to some extent maintained, by Mtesa, a black Napoleon in a small way. Mwanga's authority, even in Uganda, was always weak, and, had it not been for British intervention, the whole country might before now have fallen under the dominion of Kabarega, the formidable Wanyoro potentate with whom the exiled Muhammadans of Uganda took refuge in 1890. All these petty states are on the direct "Cape to Cairo" line, and the control over them was coveted by European and other adventurers long before Mr. Rhodes's railway project was thought of. The district was looked forward to as an annex of the Egyptian Sudan a quarter of a century ago, and Emin Pasha's Equatorial Province was in touch with it, and more than once in conflict with its rulers. Since 1886 it has been hemmed in on the south-west by German East Africa. The original scheme of the Congo Free State encroached on it from the west, and so much of it as is not now included in the Uganda Protectorate or in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, as resuscitated by Lord Kitchener, has been "leased" by Great Britain to King Leopold. There was policy, albeit short-sighted, in Mtesa's welcoming of Mr. Stanley's overtures in 1875 and of the missionary invasion that followed. There was policy as short-sighted, and in the end more disastrous, in Kabarega's rejection of Mr. Stanley's proffered friendship twenty-four years ago and in his intermittent warfare with the Waganda and their "protectors" ever since.

Almost the first business taken in hand by Captain

Lugard, after his arrival in December, 1890, at Mengo, the native capital of Uganda, by the side of which Kampala, the British capital, has since been built, was the setting up of a chain of forts along the frontiers of Unyoro, for which purpose he practically annexed the Toru district. He set up other forts in the south, the principal being in Buddu. This was the most remote of the ten provinces into which he roughly divided Mwanga's kingdom, three others being assigned to the Muhammadans, and the rest, a compact group in the middle, to the Protestants, with Mwanga as their reconverted head. Captain Lugard's scanty resources were taxed to the utmost in endeavouring to keep even a show of peace among the antagonistic elements entrusted to his care, and the most important step taken by him with this object has had issues that he can scarcely be blamed for not having foreseen.

Those who have read the detailed history of the Emin Pasha Relief Expedition will remember that in 1889, after "rescuing" the luckless Emin, Mr. Stanley turned adrift at Kavalli's, on the Albert Nyanza side of Unyoro, a great concourse of Sudanese and other mercenaries, with their wives and slaves, whom Emin had gathered round him in his Equatorial Province but found there altogether unmanageable. Mr. Stanley considered himself very adroit and fortunate in being able to get rid of or escape from these ruffians, whom he described as "permeated and saturated with mutiny, rebellion and treason," and whom he suspected of plotting to capture him and all his party and hand them over to the Mahdi.* They had been raiding about for some two years, oppressing the Muhammadan population with which they had no real sympathy, and ruthlessly persecuting all the pagans and any Christians whom they came across, when Captain Lugard, finding he could in no other way put any restraint upon them, enlisted about 200 of their number for service in the forts he had established in the Toru district. They continued to be, for

* Parliamentary Paper C.—5,906, pp. 11, 13.

some time at any rate, irrestrainable. While the 1,200 or 1,300 unattached Sudanese—often inaccurately spoken of as Nubians, and more familiarly as Nubies—wrought as much havoc as they pleased in Unyoro and elsewhere, the Chartered Company's picked body of 200 committed scandalous atrocities, which, when brought to the notice of the authorities, were not denied. Captain Lugard's apology for his tolerance of their misconduct (in a letter dated 13th November, 1893) was that he had been "debarred from exercising such a full measure of supervision and control as he should have desired, owing to the insufficient number of Europeans available to the Administration." "These Nubians," it was averred by the Rev. R. P. Ashe, one of the most energetic and discreet of the missionaries in Uganda, "are guilty of the most horrible outrages, not only on the people of Unyoro, but on those in the immediate neighbourhood of the British forts in Toru. These include (*a*) violation of women; (*b*) the subjection of women to the most frightful, horrible and indecent treatment, in many cases resulting in death; (*c*) the seizure of slaves; (*d*) the forcible circumcision of boys; (*e*) religious persecution." The worst offences appear not to have been committed, or at least not to have been known of, till after Captain Lugard had left the country in June, 1892, and, on their being discovered, measures were taken to check the wrong-doing and to improve the discipline of the force; but in his report on the general situation in the country, dated 1st November, 1893, the late Sir Gerald Portal called attention to "the hatred and terror inspired by these Sudanese ex-soldiers, and the deeds of cruelty practised upon native men and women by that portion of them who were left by the Company, unpaid and uncontrolled, on the western frontier of Uganda."* As a risky alternative to expelling these pernicious intruders, the hundreds not already enlisted in the Company's service, and some others who had joined them in the interval, were gradually added to the force

* Parliamentary Paper C.—7,303, p. 29.

started by Captain Lugard, in the expectation that, as Sir Gerald Portal considered, "under strict discipline," they would "make excellent soldiers." In this way the small army of Uganda Rifles, the larger part of which mutinied in 1897, was built up.

The stages by which Her Majesty's Government was led to take up the "white man's burden" that the British East African Company soon found itself quite unable to bear need not be here detailed. In his announcement of the contemplated change, on 1st June, 1894, the Earl of Kimberley promised that the Uganda Protectorate should "extend only to the territory known as Uganda proper," being "bounded by the territories known as Usogo, Unyoro, Toru and Koki"; and that within this area of about 15,000 square miles, with a population of about 450,000, "the actual administration would be left in the hands of the native chiefs, the Commissioner having all the powers to preserve peace and tranquillity in the country." Before that statement was made, however, Colonel (now Sir Henry) Colville, the representative of the Government in Uganda, had deemed it proper to invade Unyoro, and both that independent kingdom and the smaller sub-kingdoms had been brought more or less under British control. As soon as he heard of the attack on Kabarega, Lord Kimberley telegraphed, on 9th June, "Colonel Colville should be told that he must understand that he must confine his military operations and occupations of forts in Unyoro or other places not included in the Protectorate to such measures as are indispensable to secure the safety and defence of Uganda." But instructions and news travel slowly between Downing Street and Central Africa, and only those on the spot can decide as to what is or is not "indispensable." The mischief, if mischief it was, had been done. Captain Thruston, acting under Colonel Colville's orders, had not only embarked on a fresh expedition against Kabarega, but had inflicted a temporary defeat upon him and, in answer to his appeal for peace, had replied, "The first condition

will be that you should become an obedient British subject." All that Lord Kimberley could do, long after the event, was, to thank Captain Thruston for his "valuable services to the Protectorate," and to offer a mild and ineffective protest: "No such condition of peace should be insisted on. Unyoro is outside the limits of the Protectorate, and neither the chief himself nor any of his subjects can be considered under the protection, still less as the subjects, of Her Majesty."* The war with Kabarega has been fitfully carried on ever since, and though neither his country nor the adjacent districts, nor Uganda itself, can be said to have been conquered as yet, the Uganda Protectorate was on the 30th June, 1896, so far extended—on paper—as to include Unyoro, Usogo and other territories east and west, and is now—on paper—nearly thrice as large as Lord Kimberley declared it to be in June, 1894.

The excuse or justification for these extensions and for any others which may follow is that, having obtained a footing in this out-of-the-way part of Central Africa, we have no choice between widening our ground in order to hold it or ignominiously abandoning the enterprise. Each fresh advance against Kabarega has been, an alleged retribution for his efforts to recover the territories we have taken from him. So, doubtless, the unequal struggle will go on until we have really mastered not only the Wanyoro, but all others who resist our sway. It may be taken for granted that no more killing and conquering than they could help were indulged in by Colonel Colville, whose employment in Uganda barely covered a year, and by Major Cunningham, Major Owen, Captain Thruston and his other valiant assistants. The evident intention of the Government to enforce as pacific a policy as possible was shown in the appointment of Mr. Berkeley, a civilian, to succeed him as Commissioner and Consul-General.

In November, 1896, Mr. Berkeley reported that trade, though still not up to Mr. Stanley's promise, and chiefly for

* Parliamentary Paper C.—7,708, pp. 50, 139, 141.

the convenience of the European officials and missionaries, had more than quadrupled in two years; that some of the natives were acquiring a taste for English-made clothing, boots, tools, household utensils, writing materials, and scented soap; and that others, or the same, were "fully alive to the importance of fostering native products" and had "begun to develop a very considerable readiness for remunerative and voluntary work," the average wage-rate being about threepence a day. Yet in the same month of November, 1896, the puppet king, Mwanga, was fined £1,000 and otherwise punished for having smuggled ivory across the German East African frontier instead of sending it through British territory to the Zanzibar coast, and in this proceeding we have what appears to have been the first important and public intimation of the recrudescence of troubles in Uganda. These troubles, which culminated in July, 1897, were evidently conducted to by more causes than the official chroniclers have set forth.

As far back as November, 1893, Sir Gerald Portal, in discussing "the factors of the whole Uganda question," had called attention to "the neighbourhood of the jealous country of Unyoro on the northern frontier, with a king hostile to European influence and said to have been recently joined by a remnant of the Sudanese troops which revolted from Emin Pasha in the Equatorial Province," and to "the hostility of Muhammadanism on the north side among the Mahdists, and on the south and south-west among the Arabs, Manyema, etc., of Tabora, Tanganyika and the Upper Congo." "Everything I hear," he said, "seems to point to a desperate and, perhaps, long-continued struggle in the centre of Africa between the advances of European civilization from the coasts on the east and west, and the old class of Arab traders who are being driven back to the neighbourhood of Lake Tanganyika, the north end of Nyasa, the upper waters of the Congo, and the south-west side of the Victoria Nyanza. In determining both the nature and result of this contest, the position is of vital

importance. Even now it is known that frequent communications pass from the Arabs of Tanganyika and Tabora to the fanatical Muhammadans of Wadelai and along the White Nile, as well as to the nearest and most dangerous neighbour of Uganda, Kabarega, King of Unyoro.”*

The Wanyoro have since been considerably overawed, but by no means conciliated, and the three years' campaigning in the Nile valley, which has established Lord Kitchener at Omdurman, and much nearer than that to Uganda, would have been a sufficient cause of alarm to the intermediate communities, even had there been no northward movement from Uganda, and no Belgian occupation of Lado in the district “leased” to the Congo Free State in 1894. More disturbing than Captain Chaltin's successful march to Lado in the latter part of 1897, however, was the failure of his superior officer, Baron Dhanis in the Aruwimi valley, in the previous February, when his Manyema followers mutinied. It is on record that the earlier operations of Baron Dhanis against the so-called Arab masters of the Manyema district, in 1893 and 1894, had provoked serious unrest on the southern and western borders of Uganda. There was more than unrest when, in June, 1897, some of the Manyema, whom Baron Dhanis was hunting down, making their way into the Uganda Protectorate, attacked and all but captured the British fort at Katwe. Major Ternan, who was administering the affairs of the Protectorate in Mr. Berkeley's absence, repulsed them with the assistance of a few Congo troops; but, to do that, he had to draw so much of his own small force from Buddu that Mwanga, after half a year's sullen resentment of the treatment to which he had been subjected, or the abler malcontents with whom he was associated, considered the time opportune for an attempt, which had evidently been for some months in preparation, to throw off the British yoke.

Early in May it was discovered that “a very drunken Roman Catholic chief, in bad odour with the priests,” as

* Parliamentary Paper C.—7,303, pp. 29, 30.

Major Ternan described him, had induced two other chiefs to join him in a conspiracy against "European methods of administration."* These two were promptly arrested and condemned to long imprisonment, but the prime offender escaped and was at large as a mischief-maker till December. To what extent King Mwanga was from the first mixed up in the plot is not clear; but he was so far implicated that on 6th July he deemed it prudent to hurry off to Buddu, where he hoped that, the district being almost denuded of its Sudanese garrison, he would be able to stir up a general rebellion. In this he was disappointed. Most of the Protestant Waganda and many of the Roman Catholics remaining loyal, Major Ternan promptly collected about 2,000 of them to co-operate with the 200 or more Sudanese at his disposal. A battle, at the moment thought to be decisive, was fought on 19th July, as a result of which Mwanga took shelter in German East Africa, and was there detained for some time by its authorities. Mwanga's baby-son Chua was proclaimed king in his stead, and Major Ternan's report of 23rd July, that "the rising is now completely quelled," might have had some truth in it had there been no other complications to deal with.

Unfortunately these were many and grave. While Major Ternan had on hand a much harder task than he was aware of, and one much aggravated if not mainly caused by the alarm in the Uganda region which was consequent on the Anglo-Egyptian advance towards Khartum from the north, and the Congo State's enterprises and failures on the north and west, his altogether inadequate resources were to be further drained. In June Major Macdonald, who had been almost constantly employed in East Africa for some years, was directed by the Government to procure "accurate knowledge of the territories lying on the northern and eastern frontiers of the East Africa and Uganda Protectorates," and "with this view, to explore the districts

* These and following extracts are from Parliamentary Papers C.—8,718, 8,941, 9,027 and 9,123.

adjacent to the Italian sphere in which the river Juba is believed to rise, and to cultivate friendly relations with the tribes residing in that portion of the British sphere." This, of course, as was reasonably suspected from the first and as events have proved, though there were official concealments and denials at the time, was intended to be a movement from the south-east, like the Congo State's movement from the south-west, in aid of General Kitchener's Sudan expedition. Forgetting how much savage sympathy there was between the followers of the Khalifa, against whom it was crusading, and the Sudanese marauders, whom it had converted into the Uganda Rifles, and assuming that some of these latter, numbering in all 1,500, could very well be spared for service in the Nile valley, the Government ordered that 300 of them, with 100 Swahilis and 200 porters, should be dispatched from Kampala to meet Major MacDonald at Njemps, on his way up from Mombasa with 30 Sikhs and 150 other porters. The order reached Major Ternan just when his troubles with the turbulent Waganda were beginning, and when he needed all the forces at his command for his own use. He promised to do his best, but, writing to Lord Salisbury on 23rd July, added, "I think it right to point out that there is great difficulty in obtaining recruits to take their place; the number of Nubies is getting very low, and even those are extremely unwilling to enlist, the rate of pay being so small as to be no inducement. I am in hopes that I may shortly hear that your Lordship will have approved of the new rates suggested in the estimate for 1897-98, in which case, I think, more men will be forthcoming. Should I be unable to enlist sufficient Nubies, I propose to raise one or two companies of Swahilis; but this course would be very much more expensive." It should be explained that the Sudanese soldiers' pay had been fixed at a very low rate, on condition of their being allowed to have in attendance on their march as many wives and other slaves as they wished, often eight or ten apiece, whose services in working and stealing for them eked out

their own scanty wages. Even their scanty wages, however, were apt to be in arrear, not apparently because the Uganda Administration was short of actual money, but because, barter being the rule in Uganda, it was necessary that the wages should be paid in "trade goods," which there was great difficulty in bringing up from Mombasa.

Major Macdonald reached Njemps, about 200 miles east of Kampala, on 16th September, and there he was joined on the 19th by 217 of the 300 Sudanese promised to him. More could not be supplied, as in the interval, and after Major Ternan had started for England under the impression that all difficulties had been overcome, fresh and greater troubles had broken out in Buddu, Ankole, and other districts on the western side of Uganda. All available Sudanese were wanted for the shooting down of rebellious Waganda, and the few who proceeded to Njemps complained that they had been overworked and were being deprived of their pay. On 20th September their open mutiny began, the immediate provocation being Major Macdonald's necessary notification to them that, on their mysterious march into unknown lands, only one wife, boy, or other follower would be allowed to each.

The story of this mutiny, its developments and the other troubles connected with it, is known in outline through our public press, and is succinctly told in the apparently impartial and discriminating report, dated 16th May, 1898, which Mr. Berkeley prepared after his return to Uganda; and other official documents amplify and continue it as regards some details down to August, 1898. The initial disturbance among the Sudanese at Njemps had prompt effect on others, and, though all were not openly disloyal, few could be trusted to keep in check the Waganda and others who made widespread use of the opportunities afforded them for endeavouring to profit by the weakness of their British rulers. Even if there were much clearer grounds for suspicion than there is any evidence of, it would be ungenerous and unfair to blame the officers and civilians on the spot for disasters by

which several of them lost their lives, and for acts that may now seem to have been reckless or ill-advised. The causes of the mischief, however, ought to be traced out and exposed, not only in justice to some subordinates who are now under a cloud, but also with a view to the prevention, as far as may be, of similar faults and blunders in the future.

Whatever indiscretions may have been committed by the local authorities, prior to the attempted reorganization of the enlarged Uganda Protectorate in June, 1896, there can be no doubt that Mr. Berkeley and those working under him, or in his place while he was absent, were really anxious to promote peace and good order in the out-of-the-way and very unmanageable territory committed to their care. In Uganda proper an honest effort was made to maintain as far as possible, and not to interfere with more than seemed necessary, the rough sort of feudalism that the people were accustomed to. Mwanga was a weak and disreputable puppet. Yet his nominal kingship, with a British Commissioner to control him, answered, or might have answered, its purpose. Many of the chiefs under him appeared to be gradually adapting themselves to the altered conditions of the country, taking to the improvements in trade and agriculture, as did Mwanga himself, which British rule had introduced. The common folk, although still little better than serfs or slaves, were slowly discovering that they had rights as freemen. The former animosities between Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries were dying out, and their rivalry was being carried on in ways less hurtful or more beneficial to their disciples. In the outlying districts, especially in Usogo and Kavirondo to the east, and to some extent in Toru and Ankole to the west, in all of which the British authorities undertook to deal directly with the chiefs and serfs, without a puppet king as intermediary, there was more or less promise of a like evolution. Even in Unyoro, but little interfered with for some time, there was at any rate a possibility of pacification and progress. If the Uganda Protectorate, instead of being

more than 600 miles from the coast, had been as accessible even as the Nyasaland Protectorate, and as well administered, if it could have been cleared of disturbing influences within it, and so walled round as to be separated from outside disturbing influences, its stormy commencement might have been followed by something like calm and prosperity.

The chief error of the administrators on the spot was in overestimating the value of their work and its effects. Because Mwanga owned a brougham, in which he could be driven to church if he wished, he was supposed to be enlightened. Because some of his chiefs lived in brick houses with thatched roofs, used English ploughs and other farming implements, and were beginning to cultivate coffee and tobacco, they were looked upon as civilized. Because some of the natives were willing to work at road-making, canal-making, and so forth, for threepennyworth of cloth or other goods per day, they were considered to have no grievances. What grievances could they have, if 200 Sudanese troops sufficed to keep order in Uganda itself? and what ground could there be for alarm, seeing that the eastern and western provinces were each garrisoned by 400 of these troops, and that Unyoro was looked after by 500 more? The savagery of this mercenary body had evidently been considerably curbed or disciplined since its organization as the Uganda Rifles. The men had come to be much less of a scourge to the native population, and much more submissive to their white employers. In this way, however, a false sense of security was created. "Year after year," as Mr. Berkeley wrote in his report of May, 1898, "they performed their work well and faithfully, and earned the good opinion of one officer after another, when under their immediate control. But, while officers succeeded each other, carrying away an excellent recollection of the men they had personally commanded, there was gradually brewing up in the mind of the troops a feeling of discontent, which only recently began to make itself clearly manifest.

They found that the work was heavy and continuous, that their pay and clothing (military) were frequently in arrears, that constant expeditions separated them from their wives and families, and that their pay was very small in comparison to that which, they began to learn, was given to more or less similar troops in neighbouring administrations; and small even in comparison to that earned by Swahili porters, while it scarcely exceeded that of native labourers; and there can be no doubt that they looked with disfavour on, and in a sense resented, the constant change of officers. The feeling gained upon them that they had grievances, and it should be remembered that during last year (1897) they heard the news of the mutiny of the troops in the Congo State, and of the massacre of European officers, which followed, while, at the same time, a certain wave of Muhammadan unrest, which was observed in various parts of the world, may in a minor degree have had its influence."

In much more than a minor degree, perhaps. The mutineers cannot but have been aware of General Kitchener's operations in the north against the followers of the Khalifa; doubtless they shrewdly surmised that it was intended to use them in assisting those operations. Those of them, at any rate, who escaped from Major Macdonald near Njemps, and the other Sudanese who joined them, lost no time in making their way northward and across the Nile, with the manifest object of getting in touch with the Khalifa. It was only after nearly a year's pursuit and intermittent fighting that those who had not been killed off were dispersed by Major Martyr with the help of reinforcements from India as well as from British East Africa. Meanwhile the defection of a large number of the Uganda Rifles, and the disarming of most of the others which was thought expedient, had greatly encouraged and strengthened the native opposition started by Mwanga and the turbulent chiefs allied with him. The havoc that spread over the whole Protectorate would probably have been much more disastrous than it was, had not Kabarega, some of whose

Wanyoro were active in the murderous scramble, refused to co-operate with Mwanga, whom he reproached with being "the cause of all the trouble." The conduct of the white officers, civilians, and missionaries was, of course, in the circumstances necessary as a matter of self-defence, and it was valiant in a way, for over and over again they were in dire peril; but there has been little to be proud of, little that is not deplorable, in the entire business. If the prolonged crisis in Uganda itself is now really over, if Mr. Berkeley and his associates are free to settle down again to the "spread of civilization" by other agencies than Maxims and Remingtons, they will have no easy task in restoring the Protectorate to even the paltry and slippery stage of prosperity that had been reached a year and a half ago.

Nor is there apparent ground for expecting that any benefits, or any at all proportionate to the risks which are being run, will accrue from the fresh enterprises on which Major (now Colonel) Macdonald has been lately and Major Martyr is at present engaged. About both of these enterprises the Government, perhaps excusably, is chary of information. Concerning Major Martyr's movements, nearly all we know is that they are designed in some way to hasten the opening of communications between the Uganda Protectorate and the Sudan provinces which Lord Kitchener is to administer. Colonel Macdonald is reported to have secured control of the road to Lado, where the Congo State's garrison has been locked up for more than a year, and from which direct access to Fashoda and further north is important, if the aims of all the recent campaigning in the Nile Valley are to be persevered in. Whether or how far this campaigning in the Sudan is expedient or just is a question that need not here be discussed. But it behoves those who applaud or sanction it, to consider whether any help that can be sent up from Uganda will be at all worth the risk and loss entailed by it. A proposal to extend British authority southwards from Omdurman

till it reached the Victoria Nyanza, and so absorbed Uganda and all the intervening territory, would be intelligible, if not justifiable. But Uganda affords no base, and no suitable material, for any effective northward movement.

Even Mr. Stanley, in commending Uganda to the attention of "the pious people of England" four-and-twenty years ago, said "The route here is by the Nile, or viâ Zanzibar, Usogo, and Unyanyembe. The former route, so long as Colonel Gordon governs the countries of the Upper Nile, seems the most feasible." The collapse of Gordon's rule has been at length followed by Lord Kitchener's imitation of it, and, rightly or wrongly, Great Britain is committed to mastery of some sort over the whole Nile Valley. That may perhaps render it possible hereafter for Uganda to be a British stronghold in Central Africa. But in no other way can attainment of this object, if it is worth attaining, be hoped for. Uganda, after years of blundering effort, is still out of reach. Since 1891 we have been scheming and spending money to connect it by railway with the Zanzibar coast. As yet only about a third of the railway has been constructed, with an outlay of at least half of the £3,000,000 allowed by Parliament for the purpose, with enormous waste of life, and with no prospect of any appreciable advantage being secured in the event of the work being completed. The present means of communication with the country are so slow, costly, and perilous, that even of the trade goods which the Government needs, in its lack of more portable currency, for payment of the hired mercenaries it employs in overawing the natives, only an inadequate supply can be obtained. If ever the country is to be brought under such British rule and influence as will be of real benefit either to white men or to black, it must be by other methods than those now in vogue. Surely there has already been enough blundering, and the time has come for honestly endeavouring to correct the mistakes that have been made.

PRESENT ASPECT OF AFFAIRS IN MOROCCO.

BY ION PERDICARIS.

THE most important incident apparently during the past year is the revolt of the Shurfas at Tafilet. These hereditary nobles, who are at the same time religious leaders, amongst whom are several members of the Filaly or reigning family, indignant at the usurpation of power, and at the concentration of all the functions of the various departments of State in the hands of the grand vizir, Sid Hamed ben Mousa, have summoned to their standard the tribesmen and adherents who share their dislike to the prolonged tutelage of the young Sultan, Mulai 'Abd-ul-'Aziz.

It is not, however, so much the troops who have answered this call to arms as the distance of Tafilet from the city of Morocco, where the Sultan is still detained, together with the condition of the roads and the inaccessible nature of the mountain passes that constitutes the real difficulty with which the grand vizir must deal. The Government forces are being moved southwards towards the distant seat of this apparently formidable rebellion, but in the meantime negotiations are being conducted with a view to a peaceable solution. *

The country seems, indeed, to be sown with dragons' teeth, and armed opposition springs up on every side. The tragic fate of Amgar, the chief of Glauwa, a mountain fortress with battlements and towers, resembling the feudal strongholds of mediæval Europe has, nevertheless, been a discouraging example of the futility of these merely partial local risings, for the head of Amgar himself, together with the hands of sixteen of his followers, now adorns the gate of Morocco city. True, the recalcitrant chief was not captured in battle, nor did he surrender his picturesque castle on the slopes of the Atlas range after a prolonged

siege. He was, on the contrary, betrayed by some of his own adherents, as is, indeed, almost universally the case in this degraded land where the sentiment of loyalty and honour seems to have been utterly extinguished.

It is not, therefore, the disaffection of mountain tribes, nor even the more combined efforts of the religious fraternities on the southern slopes of the Atlas, from which the Shereefian Government has, possibly, to apprehend the most serious danger, but rather from the indirect consequences of recent events in regions far removed from the frontiers of Morocco, for the aftermath of the Hispano-American War, the fall of Khartoum, and especially the Fashoda incident, may entail greater changes in the destiny of Morocco than the efforts of its own inhabitants are likely to achieve.

It may well be that Spain will endeavour to efface the recollection of her recent disasters by new victories, and thus afford occupation to an army which may yet prove a source of danger at home; but even this peril to the integrity of the Moorish Empire is probably less grave or immediate than the eager desire of the French to seek compensation, whenever occasion may offer, for the imagined slight endured at Fashoda.

Few fields for conquest offer, indeed, either the temptation or the facilities that this country does, owing to its close proximity to the Algerian frontier, and to its territory equalling if not exceeding in extent and fertility even that of France itself.

Native Algerian troops, under French officers, could be rapidly concentrated upon Mequinez or even Fez, as neither of these cities, the richest and most important after the more southern capital of the Empire, is more than a few days' march from the frontier of Algeria, and this concentration could be effected almost without the knowledge or observation of any other Power, nor would the naval superiority of England be of any avail to check such a movement, other than by the occupation of Tangier or

Mogador, the two most important ports of Morocco ; which ports would scarcely again revert to the native authority under which they have so long remained stagnant and virtually dead to trade and commerce should any foreign occupation once become *un fait accompli*, even were such an occupation to occur thus unexpectedly and without any predetermination to permanently retain the ports in question.

Nor is opportunity or provocation likely to be long denied to any European Power seeking an occasion to thus extend its dominions at the expense of a neighbour so unable to protect itself by force of arms or so incompetent, as Morocco seems, to adjust its attitude to the trying necessities of the situation ; since neither friendly counsel nor scarcely veiled menace appears to affect the grand vizir, who, counting upon the rivalry and jealousy of the various Powers, holds boldly on as though no danger threatened the feeble and distracted country over whose decline he presides.

As an instance in support of this statement " Ba Hamed " as the grand vizir is familiarly designated, has lately replied with a flat denial to a united demand of the Representatives of the Powers at Tangier, who required the use of the island at Mogador as a lazaretto, where pilgrims returning from Mecca should be subjected to quarantine observation.

The foreign Ministers have applied to their respective Governments for instructions regarding this question, of such vital importance now when the plague has already reached Port Said, and these negotiations may yet lead to serious complications with Morocco. Nor is this the only incident of the kind that has occurred lately ; on the contrary, the obstinacy and shortsightedness of the native officials is shown at every turn.

The United States Government has, during the past year, evinced the desire to correct any still lingering tradition of former Consular irregularities, and with this object

in view sent here, on a special mission, Mr. F. C. Partridge, formerly one of the legal advisers of the Department of State at Washington. This gentleman not only introduced a series of reforms tending to reduce the number of native agents and protégés, but strictly challenged the pretensions of the various naturalized citizens, mostly natives of Morocco, and also laid down such rules regarding the presentation and enforcement of claims for financial indemnity against the Shereefian Government as to reduce to the barest minimum all such demands in the future. Mr. S. R. Gummere, Mr. Partridge's successor, and who is the permanent incumbent, has followed up these instructions with such assiduity, that the United States Consular administration, formerly one of the most lax in this land of irregularities and abuses, is now a model of official correction, greatly to the advantage of the Moorish Government and to the security of non-protected natives in their dealings with the agents of United States citizens, or with the dependents of the Consulate. Mr. Gummere finds to his astonishment, however, greater difficulties in collecting the few just claims placed on the file by Mr. Partridge than was experienced by his less scrupulous predecessors in collecting the far more numerous claims that originated before the barriers to this, often nefarious, traffic in spurious and unjustifiable demands for pecuniary compensation had been established.

Had this attempt to purify the United States Consulate been undertaken in the time of the late Sultan, Mulai El Hassan, the residue of well-substantiated demands would have been immediately acceded to; although the United States had not then given proof of the efficiency of their navy, nor displayed the somewhat aggressive energy lately manifested at Santiago de Cuba and in the bay of Manilla.

Another and somewhat amusing effort is just now being made by quite subordinate Moorish officials here in Tangier, acting upon instructions recently received from the Shereefian Court, with a view to thwarting the European Representa-

tives in their endeavour to improve the insanitary condition of the town.

In order to deal with this question a town council, elected by the foreign residents and by the Jewish community, was organized, for the first time, about ten years ago. This board is generally presided over by one of the foreign consuls, or by a secretary of Legation, or even by one of the European Ministers. Hitherto this council has collected and administered its slender revenue with the tacit assent of the Moorish authorities, but as larger resources and further powers were required, especially to maintain order and secure the right of way in the now over-crowded and too restricted thoroughfares, a series of regulations were drawn up by the council and subsequently submitted by the foreign Ministers to the Moorish delegate-minister of foreign affairs.

This official accepted the proposed regulations, with some slight modifications, but informed the European Envoys, who had been deputed to negotiate the introduction of these reforms, that the Sultan's Government absolutely declined to recognise the town council itself. The two foreign Ministers, with great tact, agreed that these regulations were to be considered in the light of a contract between the Moorish Government on the one hand, and those of the European Powers and America on the other.

The Sultan's representative thereupon signed the amended "*Règlement de Voirie*," as it is styled, and handed it to the foreign Ministers, and the Doyen of the Diplomatic Corps thereupon forwarded the document for publication to Prince Henry XXXI. of Reuss, actually the President of the town council or Hygienic Commission, the technical title of the council. Thus it happens that as this Commission is placarding the streets with the new order or rules, the Almuhtasib, or Moorish Inspector of Streets and Markets, is busily engaged in usurping the functions of the Commission itself.

The public is, in the meantime, the gainer by this double

activity, but whatever else the native inspector may undertake he is not likely either to pay for the electric lighting of the town, nor for the wholesale removal of the rubbish, but he is very energetic in sweeping away itinerant vendors, and in trying to prevent the often too enterprising shop-keepers from monopolizing the entire width of the streets as storage room for such wares as wind and rain will not injure, and, certainly, this form of activity, if it continues to be honestly and disinterestedly exercised, as seems the case at present, is altogether and absolutely commendable.

Speaking of the foreign representatives reminds me of the latest diplomatic appointment here—that of Monsieur Basil Bacheracht, the first Minister accredited to Morocco by the Russian Government, and who is already one of the most popular of the very able group of Ministers and Consuls General composing the Diplomatic Corps at Tangier in this year of grace 1899. Monsieur Bacheracht is further admirably supported by his secretary, Prince Gagarine.

Tangier has, indeed, been singularly favoured of late in many respects: the weather has been ideal, whilst numerous entertainments at the various legations and at the houses of the foreign residents have lent an unusual animation to the town, whilst the presence of two German training-ships, on the occasion of the Emperor William's birthday, contributed to still further enhance the brilliancy of the various social and official gatherings.

Probably at few places even on the *côte d'azur* have the conditions during the last few months been more favourable to the enjoyment of the visitor in pursuit of sunshine and recreation than in this old Moorish town with its ruined battlements overlooking the horseshoe curve of its silver beach, and offering a delightful stretch of smoothest sand for the enjoyment of the pedestrian or horseman. The white walls of the terraced houses, the mosques and minarets with the few tall palms that assert the Eastern character of the place, despite the emerald verdure of the

circumjacent gardens, now redolent with the perfume of the orange and lemon, and overlooked by the wooded slopes of the Spartello headland, all lend enchantment to the view commanding a wide range of sea and mountain, whilst the distant peaks of the Beni Hassan range add the lustre of their snow-tipped summits to a picture that is not easily surpassed in interest or charm.

ST. HELENA IN YE OLDEN TYME.

BY HIS EXCELLENCY R. A. STERNDALE, GOVERNOR OF
ST. HELENA.

THE past of St. Helena is almost a sealed book to the reading public of England, by past I mean the pre-Napoleonic times, for it is probable that had he not been sent to the island, he has made historic, it would have remained as little known as Tristan d'Acunha or any other far distant spot in the wide ocean. Yet it was a microcosm of great interest, of which voluminous manuscript records remain, in ponderous tomes, dating from 1673, and which form a sort of distant reflection, or far off echo of contemporary manners and customs of the greater world beyond the waters.* St. Helena has always been English, and is English to the backbone now. Discovered by the Portuguese, an uninhabited island, it was left by them without any trace of their occupation. Taken up by the Dutch for a time, no mark of their presence remained beyond some ponderous fortifications. Neither manners nor customs nor traditions exist, which can be said to originate with either of the two nations, and the few names of Dutch origin, which may be found in the island are of recent importation, probably from the Cape of Good Hope.

The St. Helenian of to-day, however dark complexioned he may be, is English in thought, manners, and language—in fact the English tongue is spoken by him with greater purity than in most of our rural districts in England. I am not including the descendants of the old English families, who are in the minority, but the mass of the people, who are of mixed nationalities, chiefly Asiatics, whose ancestors were in most cases slaves belonging to the English settlers.

* Some extracts from these records were printed by a former Governor of St. Helena, the late Mr. H. R. Janisch, C.M.G., and I am greatly indebted to them in writing this paper, but much yet remains in those old leather-bound folios.

Slavery was introduced by the Portuguese, for we read of one Fernando Lopez, a disgraced noble, being left on the island with a few slaves, pigs, poultry, etc. It was also probably countenanced by the Dutch and continued by the English, for when Sir Richard Munden retook the place, after it had been captured again by the Dutch in 1672, he was materially helped by a negro slave named Oliver, whose local knowledge enabled the English to land at Prosperous Bay and march across to Jamestown.

There is a despatch from the Hon. Court of Directors of the East India Company, dated December 16, 1673, which says :

“ We have received an account from Sir Richard Munden that a certain negro was very serviceable in guiding those of the English that first landed in order to its retaking, and that Sir Richard Munden redeemed him from a Portugal to whom he was sold. We have repaid the money to Sir Richard Munden, and have also paid Mr. Coleston* £18 which he allegeth he disbursed in charges for the negroe's wife and two children, so that we have sent the said negroe's wife and his two children over to him as free planters, and do order that he receive land and two coves as other planters as a reward of his service and the encouragement of faithfulness. We also order that all negroes both men and women living in the said Island that shall make profession of the Christian faith and be baptized shall within seven years after be free planters and enjoy the privileges of free planters both of land and cattle.”

This was not acted up to in later times, nor was freedom of much avail to Oliver, for he was afterwards killed in an outbreak of the planters against the Government of the day.†

There is a despatch, in answer to a request for slaves, from the Governor and Council at the Hoogly, or Hughley as it is written, dated December 23, 1684 :

“ We cannot procure any slaves. Here is no such thing. There is but one way to have them, viz., to take them by force off some parts on the seacoast, and that we dare not attempt. We are in great trouble—a present stoep upon all our business.”

* Elsewhere spelt *Coulston*.

† Many years later the Governor of the time sent a number of free-born girls to another colony—“some wenches who call themselves free,” but he thinks it time to stop such pretensions.

This must have been shortly before the battle of Hoogly, after which Job Charnock moved down to Calcutta (Kalighatta), then a small village.

The population of St. Helena about this time must have been about 500, for there is an interesting comparison between it and Bombay drawn in a letter from the Court of Directors dated August 1, 1683, which says :

"That system we sent you was for the most part drawne from the model of laws we establisht upon our island of Bombay where the number of the inhabitants are 20,000* but upon recollection finding your whole number of men, women, servants and children not to exceed 500, we think for the present the method you are in may be the best except in case of taking away of life, limbs, or land."

At first slavery was restricted by the Court of Directors for fear the blacks, being in excess of the whites, should be a source of danger ; but in 1683 the restriction was removed in following the example in Barbadoes, where there were 50,000 blacks for 600 whites.

But it must not be gathered from the terms, negroes and blacks, used for slaves in those times that they were Africans. I think the majority of St. Helena slaves were Asiatics, or the fair-skinned tribes of Madagascar, for in the same letter above quoted the cultivation of yarn is enjoined

"because if any Madagascar ships fall in, the Blacks will be sold upon the Island one halfe for the King and the other halfe for the Company."

In 1716 the Governor wrote to the Court of Directors that 200 or 300 more Blacks were wanted, and made the following suggestion :

"A small vessel from Madagascar would effectually do our business, and they are the best blacks for our purpose."

In May of the following year thirty slaves were received from Madagascar by the *Mercury*, and in March, 1720, the same vessel again brought slaves from Madagascar. In 1765 the same vessel was employed in the slave trade, and eight days after leaving Madagascar, the slaves rose and

* Now about 821,000.

killed the Captain and fractured the mate's skull before they were overpowered.

The light-coloured races of Madagascar are supposed to spring from a Malayo-Polynesian stock, and the type is fairly represented in St. Helena. It was hardly a typical specimen, which was shown recently at the Berlin Exhibition, in the person of a woman of negro descent.

The negro element is in the minority, though it exists to a certain extent, the planters of old days holding them in less estimation than the Madagascar slave; but still in those good old times all was fish that came to the net, and in the records of 1724 the Governor complains that several Blacks guilty of notorious crimes had been sent from India, and requests the President at Fort St. George that no more should be sent. And in 1714 complaint was made that

"the Blacks that came by Mr. Sitwell's vessel came from Calabar—four of the men and three of the women are of the people called Cannibals who eat one another—three of them have died and we have had much to do to hinder those we call Cannibals from eating them who died."

In the early part of this century a number of Chinese were imported, but there are none left now, though traces of them remain in their descendants.

The condition of the slave population in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was pitiable according to the records.

The Court of Directors, instead of insisting upon a humane policy, seemed to have been afraid of the slaves getting the upper hand, and ordered strict repressive measures, which of course led to much cruelty at the hands of brutal owners. Slaves were judicially tortured, hung, drawn and quartered, and burnt alive on mere circumstantial evidence, whilst for open acts of diabolical cruelty their masters were acquitted or slightly punished. I take the following instances from the records:

"January 2nd, 1693.—Jamy a slave of Deputy Governor Keeling found guilty of sorcery and burnt to death."

"In November 1687 Peter and December 1689 Job and Derick slaves

convicted of poisoning their masters out of revenge were burnt to death, all other slaves to be present and to bring down a turn of wood for the purpose."

"A black who was tried before a jury and *acquitted* was ordered to be flogged before being discharged!"

"For stealing a piece of cloth from a sailor in the street William Whaley was hung on the 24th July 1789, and on the 15th January 1800, Job, Mr. Defountain's slave, was hung for snatching a bottle of liquor from a drunken soldier—both these cases were looked upon as highway robbery."

"A young girl was found guilty of burglary, the jury were told to reconsider their verdict, but they adhered to it, and she was sentenced to death; she was respited for a time, but hung herself in prison."

But the times were cruel, and we must remember that in England highway robbery, sheepstealing and forgery were capital offences.

Even the whites in St. Helena suffered cruel punishment. In 1684 Elizabeth Starling was flogged and ducked three times.

Two runaway apprentices who had killed a sow and broken into a house and stolen a fowling-piece were ordered to have the tip of the right ear cut off and forehead branded with R.—a pair of pot-hooks to be riveted about their necks and to be flogged several times—viz., 21 lashes on Friday, 21 on Monday, and on Thursday, 6 in town, 6 on the top of the hill, 6 at halfway tree on the hill beyond, and 6 more on arriving at home. On November 9, 1728, Ensign Slaughter, accused of slandering the Governor, ordered to receive very severe corporal punishment by whipping, and to stand in the pillory next muster-day—later on in the records is a reference to this whipping, which it is stated was done with wire whips and fish-hooks tied to a cord!

But one of the most arbitrary proceedings was that of Governor Johnson which is thus recorded :

"Aug. 8th (1721) Joseph Bedloe a soldier and Widow Mary Swallow were married by Dr. Middleton of the ship *Hartford Francis*. Bedloe and Widow Swallow being sent for by the Marshal, Bedloe led her down the valley and introduced her into the Hall of the Castle by the hand as his wife. They both owned the fact before the Governor, and Bedloe offered to show his certificate.

"The Governor ordered Bedloe to be whipt, and to receive fifty lashes on his bare back at the flagstaff, and to be confined till the departure of the next store-ship, and the said widow Swallow was ordered to receive twenty lashes on her naked back, but when she was affixed to the flagstaff, the Governor ordered the whipping to be remitted, hoping the shame of being so publicly exposed would have the same effect on her as the smart had on some. Dr. Middleton, having returned on board the ship *Hartford Francis*, was again brought on shore by order of the Governor and whipt at the flagstaff with twenty lashes for disorderly behaviour."

Governor Johnson was partial to the lash, for in his time I see that Mrs. Southen was whipped for reporting that there was a new Governor coming. Mr. Van Oosten was flogged for keeping company with a slave-woman. Mr. Tree, whose estate had been seized for debt to the Company, got twenty-one lashes on his bare back for complaining he had been robbed of it.

The Court of Directors upheld Governor Johnson in his action as concerned Bedloe and the widow Swallow, but censured him for his punishment of Dr. Middleton. This is the only case on record of the summary punishment of a parson, although in the annals of the island, they seem from the earliest times to have been stirrers up of strife and much trouble to many Governors. Melliss in his admirable work on St. Helena, speaking of the East India Company's administration, says :

"So jealous were they of its welfare, that lest it should in any way become contaminated, they punished witchcraft severely, turned Quakers away, and would not suffer a lawyer to dwell there, lest unnecessary litigation should occupy the minds of the people. But with all their anxiety the Company was sadly unfortunate in the selection of its clergy; one after another they served to cause dissension instead of union, and to such an extent that in 1719 Governor Pike deemed it necessary to interfere, and very justly 'reprimanded the parson for making great alterations and omissions in the Church Service'; and since then to make us amends he has read the prayer for the Honourable Company, but leaves out their being Lords Proprietors of the Island, and, whereas, before it was used by all chaplains that has been here to insert, immediately after the petition for those in the Company's service abroad, these words: 'More especially the Governor and Council of this place'; and since he constantly omits that sentence, and has given out by his brother that he don't think them worth praying for, the Governor says there is an old proverb: 'No penny no paternoster,' so we say, 'No paternoster no penny,' and are very well contented, because we think the prayers of such a fellow can do us but little good."

There was a bright exception in 1738, when it was recorded :

"On September 29th we had the misfortune to lose our Chaplain, Mr. Barlow, the most acceptable of his profession we have had among us for a great number of years past. Wee have supplied his place with Archbishop Tillotson, Dr. South, Bishop Fleetwood, Dr. Calamy, and other eminent English Divines, from whose discourses wee are sure we shall be much more improved than by the crude, uncouth compositions wee have commonly met with for several years past, and such as were so far from edifying that oftentimes they were not intelligible."

In those days the Governor used to go to church in much state. There is a brief but very good account of St. Helena by Captain Daniel Beeckman, Commander of the Hon. East India Company's galley *Eagle*, in his report on his voyage to Borneo, 1715,* in which he says :

"They use great formality in going to church ; for about nine o'clock in the morning, the Council, the ministers, and their wives, together with such commanders of ships as have a mind to it, do wait on the Governor in the Castle, after which, the bell being ordered to ring, a company of soldiers, with a sergeant, in good liveries, are drawn up in the Castle, where they make a lane (resting their arms) as a passage to the gate, where there is another sergeant and a company which march with beat of drum before the Governor to the church. After follow the gentlemen and ladies in their respective order. As soon as the soldiers get into the churchyard they fall off to the right and left, making a lane to the church-door. The Governor has a handsome large seat, with books, where he generally desires the commanders of ships to sit, the ladies being seated by themselves."

The same Captain Beeckman quaintly remarks of the island that it

"is so high, hilly, and of difficult ascent, that it is a common saying that a man may chuse whether he will break his heart in going up, or his neck in coming down."

He says :

"The inhabitants are all English, except their slaves, whereof they have a great number. The women, even those born there (as most of them are), have generally a very fair complexion notwithstanding the heat of the climate.† They all have a great desire to see England, which they call home, though many of them never saw it, nor can have any true idea thereof."

* See Pinkerton's "Travels," vol. xi., page 155.

† He is hardly accurate here, for I have known the heat in an English summer greater than the hottest day in St. Helena.

The officials used to be dieted at the Governor's table in those days.

"In Governor Poirier's time 64 people, Governor Roberts's time 51, and Governor Bouchier's time 77 people. Sometimes the Governor dined in his chamber, and then only the women, or whom he called in, dined with him, and the rest dined in the Hall. All the Council's wives, and some of the planters and their wives (if any, at the Church). Then the Governor, with whom he thought fitt, dined in the Parlour. These had always Punch as they thought fitt, there being never any allowance at the Upper Table."

In a list of persons dieted at the Governor's table, "below the salt," appear the Sergeant of the Guard, the writer, the armourer, the overseer of workmen, the two masons, and the assistant to the armourer. In a letter to the Court of Directors, dated July 10, 1718, the following occurs :

"The Council have always the benefit of the General Table. In the case of smoking Tobacco, which the Governor finds great incommodity to himself, and therefore does expect the Council not to smoak at Table, when he is present, nor no man to come there when he is drunk. Formerly the Sergeants and the Marshall and Smith used to dine with the Governor, but being complained of by many of the Commanders, Governor Poirier did alter it. And this Governor is of opinion that nobody ought to sit at Table with him that is not cleanly drest, or that has an infectious distemper on him, or that is drunk, and never did forbid any bodies coming but for one of these above mentioned reasons, unless Captain Haswell once. On all Public occasions, General Musters, or Sessions, usually 30, sometimes 35, of the Inhabitants dine with the Governor."

In 1716 Dr. Du May was exempted from dining at the general table on account of ill-health.

"We allow him dyett money because he can't eat at the Fort, where the half of the provisions is usually Pork, and if he sees any Pork he faints away, let it be where it will, and is very ill with it, so that we are forced when he comes down to the Fort to have everything of that nature taken out of sight. He is in other respects an honest and, we think, a skilful man. This Dr. Du May is the man we mentioned to be lett blood so often, so that in five weeks we computed he took from himself between five and six gallons of Blood—a thing so strange that we did not expect his life, but now he is well recovered, and we think it did him good."

The St. Helena of the present day is very different to the St. Helena of "ye olden tyme," but that must form the subject of another paper.

ORIENTAL LINGUISTICS IN COMMERCE.

BY DR. R. S. CHARNOCK, LATE M.R.A.S., F.S.A.

A VERY large number of commercial and other terms have been derived from the Oriental languages. The languages comprise Bengālī, Guzarāthī, Hindī, Hindūstānī, Karnāta, Malayālam, Marāthī, Tamīl, Telugu (all of which have been ably treated by Prof. H. H. Wilson in the Preface to his Glossary of Indian Terms); also Arabic, Bugis, Chinese, Hebrew, Japanese, Javanese, Malay, Maltese, Persian, Singhalese, Syriac and Turkish, for which the works of Arrieus, Richardson, Morrison, Julien, Gesenius, Hepburn, Gericke, Ronde, Pynappel, Marsden, Crawford, De Alwis, Hunter, Cooper, Castelli, Kiefner and Bianchi may be respectively consulted. The words derived from the above languages would make a good-sized volume. At present I propose to confine myself to Malay, a language spoken in the Peninsula of Malacca (with the adjacent islands, the Rhio-Lingga Archipelago), the greater part of the coast districts of Sumatra and Borneo, the sea-ports of Java, and the Sunda and Bunda Islands; a language containing many Hindī and Arabic words, and some from Bengālī, Bugis, Chinese, Hindūstānī, Javanese, Sanskrit, and Telugu.

I will commence with terms relating to food and fruits. The word sago is from Malay *sāgū* (ساقو), the pith of a tree of the palm kind named *rumbiya* (رُمبِي), which, according to Marsden, has been confounded with the *Cycas Circinalis*, or fern-palm, as well as with the *Borassus Gomutus*. This Malay word has been borrowed from the Javanese. The term "paddy" applied to rice in the husk, whether gathered or not, is from *pādī* (فَادِي). When separated from the husk it is named *bras* (بِرْس); when boiled, *nāsī* (نَاسِي). In Javanese *pādī* is corrupted to *pari*; and, according to Crawford, in the Kanara language of Southern India (Karnāta?) it is written *bati*, a genus of Papilionaceous plants of the tribe Phaseoleæ and sub-tribe Cajanææ. Cajanus or Cajan has its name from the Malay *kāchang* (كَاجَڠ), a term for pulse, pease, beans, vetches, dolichos and phaseolus, of which the species are very numerous. Two sorts are commonly parched before they are sold, and have thence obtained the name of *kāchang gōring*, that is parched *kāchang*, from *gōring* (گُورِڠ), to parch, fry, etc. Mango, the fruit of *Mangifera Indica*, is in Malay written *maṅga* (مَڠْڠَا). The varieties are numerous. Two of them are *manpalam* (مَنْڠَلَم) and *ampalam* (اَمْڠَلَم). Both words are found in Marsden and Crawford; and, according to the latter, have been borrowed from Telinga, that is Telugu. Mangustan, which is considered the most exquisite of Eastern fruits, is the fruit of *Garcinia Mangostana*, a tree growing in Malacca. The word in Malay is written *maṅgīsta* (مَڠْڠِيْسْتَا), and in Javanese *mangis*. Durio, durian, or durion is the name of a genus of plants of but one species, *Durio Zibethinus*, a native of the Malayan Archipelago, which furnishes a fruit much prized by Malays and others, but which does not suit the European palate. The word is from the Malay *durian* (دُورِي). It had its name from its prickly coat, from *dūrī* (دُورِي), a thorn, spine, prickle. The traveller Sinschot

calls it *batan*, which is from *bātang* (باتغ), a tree, trunk of a tree. The fruit called papaw (*Carica Papaya*) has its name from Malay *papāya* (فڤاي). And now for some terms relating to oils, resins, gums, dyes, etc., produced by certain trees and plants. Gambir is the name of an extract from the leaves of *Uncaria Gambir*, which is chewed by Malays and others to relieve certain eruptions of the mouth and fauces. The Malays call it *gātah gambir* (گتہ گامبير), gambir gum. Pinang, the proper name for the areca or betel nut, which is much chewed in the East to strengthen the stomach and deaden the cravings of hunger, is from Malay *pīnang* (پينغ). Hence Pulo Pinang, an island belonging to Great Britain, one of the Straits Settlements (*pūlan*, an island). The word betel is not found in either Marsden or Crawford. In Chinese the nut is called *lang*, and *pīn lang*; and in Persian the leaf is named *tambūl* (تنبول). The word camphor is said to come from Malay *kāpūr* (کافور), literally chalk. If so, the Hindī, Sanskrit, and Arabic words must have been borrowed from the Malay. There are several kinds; two of them are *kāpūr bārūs* (باروس), and *kāpūr tōhor* (توهر), Japanese camphor; literally Japanese lime; and called also *kāpūr jāpun*. The former comes from Bārūs, a place of considerable trade on the western coast of Sumatra. It is produced from a very large tree, entirely different from that of the laurel tribe, which yields *kāpūr tōhor*, which latter undergoes a certain process before it is brought to our shops. Again, according to Marsden, *kāpūr bārūs* exceeds the other 30 times in price. Kanary, the oily resin from a tree growing in the Indian Archipelago, used for making the substance called damar, was named from Malay *kanārī* (کناري). Damar (دامر), which is found in some English dictionaries, signifies literally "resin." There are two kinds, viz., *dāmar bātū*, and *dāmar kruyen*. The former, which is the common sort, is so called from being found under a certain tree from which it exudes; the other is a soft kind, used equally with the other for pitch. The substance called gutta-percha is produced by a tree, the *Isomandra Guttah*, of Hooker, which grows in Borneo, Sumatra, Singapore, and other islands of South-Eastern Asia. The term is derived from *gatah* (گتہ), gum, balsam, *percha* (فڤچ), the native name of the tree. Hence Pulo Percha, an appellation of the island Sumatra (*pūlan*, an island). Calambac is the name of a fragrant resin, the product of a tree growing in China, and some of the Indian islands, whose wood has an aromatic odour, which wood is known in Europe as aloes-wood and agalloch. The term Calambac comes through the Portuguese, from Malay *kalambak* (کلمبق). Some authors call it garo, from Malay *gāhrū* (گهارو), or *gārū* (گارو), a word found also in Hindī. The volatile oil called cajuput, used medicinally as a stimulant and antispasmodic, is made from a tree, a native of the Moluccas, described by Rumphius under the names of *Alba Minon*, *Cajuputi*, *Duun-Kitsjil*, and *Caju-Kilan*. It has also been called *Myrtus Alba* and *Melaleuca-leucandendra*. The tree had its name from its colour, from *kāyū* (کايو), wood, timber, *pūtih* (فوتہ), white. The juice of the upas tree (*Arbon Toxicaria Macassariensis*, of Thunbug) constitutes a virulent poison called by the natives *anchar*, or *antjar* (whence the botanical name *Antiaris*). Marsden renders *ūpas* (اوفس), "poison, a milky juice extracted from certain vegetables." Many idle stories have been propagated by travellers con-

cerning this tree. The exhalations from it were said to cause death to all animals that approached it. It has been found growing with other trees in forests, and, in 1844, was introduced into British hot-houses, with no deleterious effects. Sapan, or Sappan, a dye-wood resembling Brazil wood in colour and properties, produced by *Cesalpinia Sappan*, a native of Southern Asia and the neighbouring islands, had its name, through the Spanish, from Malay *sāpang* (سافان). The Javanese word is *sīchang*. We probably get the word bamboo from Malay *bambū* (بامبو), but the word in Karnata is found variously written *bambu*, *bumboo*, *banbu*. M. Devic (in supplement to Lithé) says that in works on natural history the name is *bula*, which is the Malay *boulouh* (بوله). Indians tell me that the true chutney is made of the bamboo in a green state.

Among zoological terms derived from Malay we have orang outang, from *orang hūtan* (اوران هوتان), rendered wild man; literally man of the woods, from *orang*, man, person, "people, *hūtan*, woods, a forest, wild or uncultivated parts of the country. Siamang, a species of black monkey, with long arms, found in the forests of Sumatra and the Indian Peninsula (the gibbon of Buffon) had its name from the Malay *siyāmag* (سيماغ). The word may have possibly been formed from Persian, *siyah* (سياه), black, the Malay word being *ētam* (هيتام). Babyroussa, Babiroussa, a species of hog (the *Sus Babyrussa* of Linnæus) inhabiting the Indian Archipelago, whose flesh is good eating, was named from Malay *bābī rūsa* (بابي روس), literally "hog deer," so called from its peculiar tusks resembling horns, whence it is also named "horned hog." The word castor for a beaver comes, through the Latin or Greek, or both, from Malay *kasturī* (كاستوري), rendered "musk." The word is of Hindī origin, from Sanskrit *kastūrī*, *kasturikā*, *kastūrikā*. The Dugong, a very large animal of the order of mammalia called sea-cow, which is found in the Indian Seas, was named from Malay *dūyōng* (دويونغ). Its flesh is highly prized as food, and is said to bear close resemblance to veal; and the skin is capable of being manufactured into various useful articles. The animal has given rise to stories of mermaids in the tropical seas. In other languages of the Indian Archipelago it is called *rūdyong* or *ruyong*. A slug-like animal, called trepang or tripang, forms an important article of food in China. It makes a rich soup, and is stewed in several ways, and it takes, in fact, the same rank among the Chinese as turtle does with us. I do not find the word in either Marsden or Crawfurd. M. Devic gives it as a Malay word. In that language it is written *trīpang* (تريفانغ). It is also called in Malay *suwala*. The lory, a beautiful bird of the parrot kind, brought from the Moluccas, had its name from Malay, *lūri* (لوري), for *nūri* (نوري), in Javanese *nōrī*. Both words may have been derived from Arabic *nūr* (نور) splendour. The classical name of the Papuan lory is *Charmosyna Pāpua*; and that of the purple-capped lory, *Lōrius Domicellus*. Cassowary, a bird like an ostrich, with a helmet-like protuberance upon the head, found in the Indian Archipelago, was named from the Malay. The word is not found in either Marsden or Crawfurd. M. Devic writes it in Malay *kasouāri* (كسوارى). The mino-bird, a black bird, with yellow gills or excrescences like ears, a native of the Indian Archipelago, had its name from the Malay *minā* (ميناء); but the Malay word has been borrowed from the Hindūstāni. The bird is frequently captured and domesticated, and

is made to whistle, sing, and imitate the human voice with greater precision than any other of the parrot tribe. Crawfurd gives its classical name as *Gracula Religiosa*; and the last term is often used in ornithology, as well as entomology and botany. The Rev. J. G. Wood styles it *Gracula Musica*, and says it is known to the Javanese by the names of Bëo and Mencho, and to the Sumatrans by that of Teelong. M. Devic writes the name of the genus Mainak.

The East Indian term godown is derived from the Malay *gadong* (گدڱ), *godōng* (گدوڱ), variously rendered a house, ware, or store-house, magazine, factory, arsenal, any house built of brick or stone. Crawfurd derives the word from the Telinga (Telugu), but Brown, in his Telugu Dictionary says it is a Malay word. The small box for holding tea, called caddy, has its name from the Malay, but the sense has changed. It properly means a packet of a certain weight; and the term is derived from *katī* (کتی), in Batavia, China, or Japan, a weight of 1 lb. 4 oz. avoirdupois. The word is called in Chinese *kin*. The name of the circular disc called gong, used as a bell, is of Malay origin. In Malay it is written both *gong* (گوڱ) and *agong* (اگوڱ). The word probably represents the sound made. The Chinese word *lo* for a gong is doubtless also an onomatopoeia. The Malays trade in rattans, the commercial name for the stems of various species of the genus *Calamus*. The word rattan is a corruption of Malay *rōtan* (روتن). Marsden says there are several sorts, as the *rōtan sagā*, a large sort; *rōtan kawāt*, and *rōtan semut*, small rattans, used in the manufacture of cables, and *rōtan sālak*, which produces an edible fruit, *Calamus Zalacca*. The word *semut* (سمت) signifies ant, pismire. Crawfurd says in the *Hortus Bogoriensis* seven species of the rattan are described, with five that are doubtful; and he adds that the word is probably derived from the word *rawut* (say *rawāt*), to pare and trim, and that the meaning therefore is "the object pared and trimmed." Sampan, a small boat formed from a single stem, a sort of canoe; and proa, a general name for all vessels between the sampan and the square-rigged vessel called kapal, have their names from the Malay, the former name having undergone no alteration, the latter being written in Malay *praū* (فرو) and *prāu* (فراه). According to Crawfurd, both sampan and praū have been borrowed from the Javanese. The dagger called creese or crease—"the cursed Malayan crease"—had its name from the Malay *kris* (کریس), *kris* (کرس), rendered a dagger, poniard, dirk. Crawfurd also writes the word *kâris*, and derives it from the Javanese. The term *a-muck* in "run-a-muck" is of well-known Malay origin. The Malay verb is *meng-āmuk* (مغامق), literally, to fight furiously, to murder indiscriminately; to cry *āmuk*, *āmuk*, from *meng*, an inseparable particle prefixed to verbs, and *āmuk*, to run furiously and desperately at everyone. I may add that the words *anānas*, *nānas* for the pine-apple, found in Malay dictionaries, are not properly Malay words, and have probably found their way into European languages through the Portuguese *anānas*, which is said to be derived from the Guiana *manas*.

I may further observe that the words derived from the Malay found in French dictionaries greatly exceed in number those in English dictionaries.

"THE LAST ROSE OF SUMMER," IN PERSIAN.

By A. ROGERS.

'Tis the last rose of summer,
Left blooming alone;
All its lovely companions
Are withered and gone.
No flower of her kindred,
No rosebud is nigh,
To reflect back her blushes,
Or give sigh for sigh.
I'll not leave thee, thou lone one,
To pine on the stem;
Where the lovely are sleeping,
Go, sleep thou with them.
So fondly I scatter
Thy leaves o'er the bed
Where thy mates of the garden
Lie withered and dead.

Soon, too, may I wither
When friendships decay,
And from life's blooming garden
The flowers fade away.
When friends have departed,
And dear ones are gone,
Oh, who would inhabit
This sad world alone?

مي شكوند گل تنها
آخر گل بهار
همه دوستش پژمرده
نمانده است يار
ني گل ز خویشان
ني خويش بر راه
نه لعل شود رخس
نه آه آيد به آه
نگذارم چريده
بر شاخ ترا ماند
چاي خويان مي خوانند
ترا بايد فشانند
از مهر برگ ترا
مي افشانم جدا
ياران بوستانند
همه مرده بر جا
زود من نيز پژميرم
شوق دوستي بري
در باغ زمان نيز
نزيب گلي
همه رفتگان دوستان
عزيزي گر نيبست
در جهان تنهائي
به عيش كه توان زيبست

Mi shigūfād gūl tanhā
Ākhar-gul-i-bahār
Hamah dūstash pazhmurdah
Na māndah-ast yār.
Nai gūl zi kh'ishānash
Nāi ghunchah bar rāh
Nah l'al shavad rūkhash
Nah āh āyad bah āh.
Nagūzāram jaridah
Bar shakh turā mānd.
Jāi khūbān mikhāband
Turā bāyad fishānd
Az mihr barg-i-turā
Mi-afshānam judā,
Yārān-i-būstānat
Hamah murdah bar jā.
Zūd man nīz pazhmīram,
Shavad dūsti bari.
Dar bāgh-i-zamān nīz
Nazibad guli.
Hamah raftah-and dūstān
'Azizi gar nist
Dar jahān-i-tanhāi
Bah 'aish keh tavān zist.

NOTE.—The translator is aware that he violates all rules of Persian poetical composition in adopting a metre which requires to be scanned according to natural quantities of syllables and accent, in place of the artificial quantities according to positions necessary by the strict rules of Persian poetical composition. He has done so deliberately, in order to elicit opinions as to whether the language is not adaptable to the use of natural accent and inflection, rather than the formal hide-bound methods of Persian Nazm (نظم).—A. R.

QUARTERLY REPORT ON SEMITIC STUDIES AND ORIENTALISM.

BY PROF. DR. EDWARD MONTET.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

THE first volume of the "Actes du Onzième Congrès International des Orientalistes" (Paris, 1897), a magnificent work issued by the National Printing Press, containing articles relating to the languages and the archæology of the Far East, has appeared.* Although our *Reports* do not touch upon this branch of Oriental studies, we wish to draw attention to an important dissertation (with illustrations) in this series by Mr. G. Dumoutier on "Annamite Religious Ethnography."

We have much pleasure in announcing the advent of the second volume of Dr. G. M. Grant's "Grandes Religions," translated into French by C. de Faye.† This volume treats of Buddhism, Judaism, and Christianity. The work, though in a popular style, is written in a broad, as well as a scientific and impartial spirit. The translator has rendered it into French in an exact and clear manner (which is the greatest accomplishment of a translator), and has therefore been of real service to those who read it in that language.

In the field of Assyriology we have to point out the German translation of Mr. G. Smith's work on the discoveries made on the actual site of Nineveh.‡

We postpone to another Report our remarks on Assyriological bibliography.

We hasten, however, to refer to the last portion of the *Thesaurus Syriacus* of Payne Smith. It was with great satisfaction we perused the last part but one of this publication (Fasc. x. Pars i.),§ which includes the letters *Rish* and *Shin*; there remains but *Tau* to complete the *Thesaurus*. The editors, D. S. and J. P. Margoliouth, inform us in a short introduction that the lamented Payne Smith, after having devoted thirty-six years to this great work, was arrested in his labours *in media radice shemesh* (col. 4,223). In consequence they were obliged to supply what was deficient, or what was not sufficiently prepared, by their own skill, learning, and indefatigable perseverance. It is this that we unreservedly praise, whilst applauding the success of their enterprise.

* Paris, E. Leroux, 1898.

† Geneva, C. Eggimann, 1899. Illustrated.

‡ G. Smith, "Entdeckungen in Assyrien, ein Bericht zur Richtigstellung der Lage von Ninive, Übersetzung von E. Freifrau von Boecklin." Leipzig, E. Pfeiffer, 1898. Illustrated.

§ Oxonii, Typogr. Clarendon, 1897.

BIBLICAL HEBREW AND ARAMAIC—OLD TESTAMENT HISTORY OF THE
JEWISH PEOPLE AND ITS RELIGION.

Biblical Criticism.—The second volume of the important work of W. E. Addis on "The Documents of the Hexateuch" has appeared;* the first was published in 1892. The author, although of a conservative tendency, has explained in this authoritative work the results of scientific Biblical criticism with great lucidity. The second volume is devoted to Deuteronomy, Deuteronomical writers, and Levitical documents. It is therefore the legislative part of the Hexateuch and the historical fragments connected with it, which form the present subject of investigation. The author, in order to distinguish the several sources, has printed the translation of the texts in different characters, and has accompanied them with a brief exegetical commentary.

We recommend to all who occupy themselves with Biblical criticism, and more especially to those who are interested in works of this character prepared by the Roman Catholic Church, the work of J. Méritan on the "Version Grecque des Livres de Samuel."† The author, a Roman Catholic who "venerates as an infallible decision of the Church the decrees of the Council of Trent," belongs in the field of Biblical criticism to the school of the Abbé Loisy. Nothing, however, is more familiar to him than the publications of Wellhausen and Driver. The work of textual criticism to which he has devoted himself, has a great scientific value; he examines in succession the Greek version itself (MS. of Sinaï and the Vatican, the Hexapla, Lucian's recension), the divergencies of this version with reference to the Hebrew text, in short, the critical defects which it presents.

Textual criticism of the Old Testament has for some years, we may say, been the order of the day in Biblical science, and there is thus a real attraction in the prize offered by the Manchester College Committee (December 31, 1900) for "an elementary treatise on the emendation of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament." There is a work in the French language which, partly, complies with the desideratum of the Manchester College Committee. It is "L'Histoire du Texte Hebreu de l'Ancien Testament," by A. Loisy,‡ the Catholic writer whom we have often had occasion to eulogise. May the offered prize be the means of giving us a classical treatise on the subject.

Exegesis of the books of the Old Testament.—Among the commentaries which have appeared during the last month or two, we may notice that of D. C. Siegfried, on Ecclesiasticus and the Song of Songs,§ a work of great interest, notwithstanding the evident hypercriticism which it displays. The learned Hebraist sees in Ecclesiasticus a considerable number of different authors, but he does not find a better way of explaining the contradictions of this celebrated book; in fact, he has not entered into the half-sceptical and half-believing spirit of Ecclesiasticus which

* London, D. Nutt, 1898.

† Paris, Maisonneuve, 1898.

‡ Amiens, Rousseau-Leroy, 1892.

§ "Prediger und Hoheslied" Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1898.

Renan, whose spiritual temperament was of the same nature, had so well translated and understood in its substance and details. As to the Song of Solomon, it is to Siegfried but a collection of obscene, erotic songs. This solution of the problem which the Song of Solomon presents is not new, and it has the serious inconvenience of rendering totally impossible any explanation of its admission into the canon of the Old Testament.

The commentary of K. Budde on the Book of Judges* treats, principally, with questions relating to the composition of this work. According to Budde, the oldest portions of the Judges emanate from the Jahvistic and Elohist sources, which are the bases of the Hexateuch. A writer about the year 650 combined these two narratives. The compilation was revised later by the Deuteronomistic school on two different occasions. A later writer (about the year 400) again added to the Book of Judges some fragment supposed to have been previously omitted, and some more modern additions (chs. xx. and xxi.) completed the work. Together with the English commentary of Moore, brought out in 1895, that of Budde is the most noteworthy work on this important book of the Old Testament.

Under the title "Die fünf Megillot," K. Budde, A. Bertholet, and D. G. Wildeboer have published a brief commentary on the Song of Solomon, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiasticus, and Esther.† Its principal features are the Song of Solomon (Budde). It is a collection of nuptial songs analogous to the *wasf*, *وصف*, or *epithalamia*, of the Syrian peasants. This was the hypothesis already brought forward by Wetzstein (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1873, p. 270 ss).

Ruth (Bertholet).—This is a pamphlet in favour of mixed marriages, based on a tradition as far back as David, and directed against the measures taken by Esdras and Nehemiah to exclude alien women.

Lamentations (Budde).—These are by different authors, of whom one (ch. iii.) introduced Jeremiah, which tended to cause the prophet to pass for the poet of the five songs.

Ecclesiasticus (Wildeboer).—This book is the honest confession of a serious man, who has doubts about many things, which others lightly believe, but who will not for all that forego the faith of his youth.

Esther (Wildeboer).—This book, composed about the year 135, alludes to a Babylonian religious festival. פּוֹר is a Babylonian word. Esther recalls to mind Istar, Mordecai, Marduk, Haman Humman the Elamite god, etc.

In terminating this paragraph we quote a couple of commentaries of real scientific value—F. Baethgen, on the Psalms (2nd ed.),‡ and V. Ryssel, on Exodus and Leviticus (3rd ed., of A. Dillmann).§

Apocryphal Books of the Old Testament and Apocalypse.—Ecclesiasticus has greatly attracted the attention of scholars ever since the discovery of the Hebraic fragments published by Cowley and Neubauer, and we have to point out as a curiosity an interesting reprint by D. F. Scheurleer

* "Das Buch der Richter." Freiburg, i. B., Mohr, 1897.

† Freiburg, s. B., Mohr, 1898.

‡ Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1897.

§ Leipzig, Hirzel, 1897.

of an ancient Flemish translation of Ecclesiasticus in verse, set to music in the sixteenth century.*

A volume, full of interest, has been published under the title of "Elijah's Apocalypse," by G. Steindorff.† In 1885 Bouriant communicated the Coptic fragments (with a French translation) of an Apocalypse, which he entitled "The Apocalypse of Sophonia" (*Mémoires de la mission archéologique française du Caire*, vol. i., pp. 260-279). It is these papyri of Bouriant, together with other leaves of similar origin, acquired by the Berlin Museum in 1888, which Mr. Steindorff has published (Coptic text, translation, glossary, etc.). Nevertheless, the title "Apocalypse of Sophonia" would have been more suitable for these fragments, which remind one in a certain measure of the citation by Clement of Alexandria of an "Apocalypse of Sophonia" (Strom. v. 11, 77).

Talmudical Literature.—The first volume and a certain number of other treatises of the Talmud of Babylon have appeared in the Hebraic-German edition, which we have already mentioned, by Lazarus Goldschmidt. We shall refer to them in a future *Report*. From America is announced a new edition (Hebrew text and English translation) by Michael Rodkinson and Isaac Wise.‡

In the *Journal des Savants* for November, 1898, Mr. H. Derenbourg has given an account of an interesting publication by Messrs. D. H. Müller and J. von Schlosser§ of the Haggadâ of Serajevo. It is a tale of Easter as related by the Jews in their homes on the first night of Easter (and not as may be believed from the Haggadâ of the Talmud). What renders this work valuable is that the Haggadâ of Serajevo is the most ancient monument that has survived the wreck of the Spanish "miniature" such as it seems to have been observed about the year 1300 by the Jews of Toledo or Barcelona.

We have also to mention two academical dissertations (Theses for the degree of doctor). One on the women in the Talmud, by Klugmann,|| the other on the progress of Hebraical linguistic science from the tenth to the twelfth century (from Jehuda Chajjûg to David Kimchi), by L. Rosenak.¶

We may also refer here to an example of fluency and elegance in Hebrew style in the shape of an interesting volume by Mr. N. Slouschitz, on the last Zionist Congress of Bâle.** The author of this and other writings has shown how the classical Hebrew language would lend itself to the expression of modern ideas.

* "Ecclesiasticus, oft de wijse spoken Iesu des soons Syrach, nu eerstmael deurdeelt ende ghestelt in liedekens, op bequame en ghemeyne voisen naer wtwijsen der musijck-noten daer by ghenoecht, deur Ian Fruytiers, Antwerpen, 1565." Republished, Amsterdam, F. Muller, 1898.

† "Die Apokalypse des Elias." Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1899.

‡ New York, New Talmud Publishing Company, 1899.

§ "Die Haggadah von Serajevo." 2 vols. Wien, Hölden, 1898. 48 chromotypes, 33 phototypes, 10 engravings, and 2 facsimiles.

|| Wien, Kauffmann, 1898.

¶ Bremen, Diercksens und Wichlein, 1898.

** כנסת הגדולה או הקונגרס השני בבזל Warsaw, Tuschijah, 1898.

Logia of Jesus.—A curious attempt is here made by Resch towards reconstituting in Hebrew the Logia of Jesus, according to the canonical and apocryphal Gospels, the Fathers, etc.* We mention here, too, the volume by Dalman on the words of Jesus in their relation to Jewish literature and the Aramean language.†

History of the People and Religion of Israel.—Dr. Castelli, already known through several valuable publications on the people of Israel, has recently published under the title of "Gli Ebrei"‡ a scientific and popular account of the political and literary history of the Hebrews; a work to be recommended.

Mr. Vernes has published in the Bibliothèque de l'Ecole pratique des Hautes Études, a treatise upon the religion of Israel, entitled: "De la place faite aux légendes locales par les livres historiques de la Bible."§ In this paper the writer has greatly exaggerated the idea that some historical or religious traditions often originate from the existence of monuments of which the real origin has been unknown. Applying, without any actual scientific criticism, this principle to the Book of Judges, the author sees nothing in the traditions of this book but imaginary legends of a recent period many centuries after the Exile. Thus the Canticle of Deborah, which is held by the highest authority as one of the most ancient texts of the Bible (about twelfth century) would be but a forgery of the fourth or third century.

We announce an important work in the *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palestina-Vereins* (vol. xxi., part ii., 1898, with facsimile), on the Map of Palestine, by Marino Sanudo, sen. (fourteenth century).

ARABIC AND ISLAM.

Two Arabic grammars have reached us since our last *Report*. One is the fourth edition revised of the *Arabische Grammatik*, by A. Socin||; and differs but little from the third edition of 1894. The other is a new work entitled "*Grammaire d'Arabe régulier*," by Belkassam ben Sedira,¶ the well-known Algerian author of an excellent "Cours pratique de langue arabe parlée" (in the Algerian dialect).** In the preface the author expresses the opinion that it is preferable to learn first the colloquial Arabic, which is much easier, before acquiring the classical Arabic, or at least to study the two side by side. Our own experience of this method has given good results. The grammar of Ben Sedira is divided into three parts, of which two are very brief, one being devoted to the elements of reading and writing, the other to metre. The longest part treats entirely of morphology and syntax. It is in the union of these two sections, so different, and in fact quite independent of each other, that is found the originality

* "Die Logia Jesu, nach dem griech. und hebr. text." Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1898.

† "Die Worte Jesu," etc. Band I. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1898.

‡ Florence, Barbera, 1899.

§ Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1897.

|| Berlin, Reuther und Reichard, 1899.

¶ Algiers, Jourdan, 1898.

** Algiers, Jourdan, 1891.

of the new grammar. So also after explaining the mechanism of the conjugation of the regular primitive verb, the author introduces the agreement of the verb with the subject. After the mood and conjugation follow the different ways of expressing the verb *to have*, which does not exist in Arabic, etc.; numerous well-chosen examples illustrate the grammatical exposition. This well got-up and very commendable work is written from an essentially practical point of view. It is for classical Arabic what the "*Course of spoken Arabic*," by the same author, is for the colloquial. We do not find in it any purely theoretical explanations as in the grammars of Caspari, and the Arabists who have studied the language of the Kuran from a philological or absolutely syntactical point (for instance, concerning the irregular verbs); from it, however, one can learn classical Arabic, which is so difficult to acquire, in an easier and more attractive manner than from other manuals. We congratulate Ben Sedira.

Muhammad and Muhammadanism has been the subject of several publications lately, none of which are what we should have expected, either as an impartial study or a scientific work. We shall now review them briefly.

The first which appeared is entitled "*Le Mahométisme*,"* by Carra de Vaux. This work is written in a spirit of manifest hostility to Islamism, and republishes some views which are absolutely inconsistent with scientific research. Thus the author explains the "inward summons" of Muhammad as due to "attacks of a nervous affection, more or less bordering on epilepsy." It is ridiculous to wish to ascribe the origin of a religion which counts now nearly 200 millions of followers to the outcome of a nervous distraction.

Marius Fontane has added a tenth volume under the title of "Mahomet"† to his "*Histoire Universelle*," but of its 502 pages only 109 concern the prophet. It is a precocious and superficial work without interest. The following quotation from it will show its peculiarity: "Par l'instruction sommaire qu'il avait reçue des récits bibliques, Mahomet *s'était imprégné d'idées iraniennes. Il croyait souvent s'appuyer des paroles du Dieu d'Israel, tandis qu'il rééditait le Zend-Avesta, et c'est ce qui causa le succès de l'Islamisme chez les Persans aryens de haute culture. Le Bouddhisme de l'Orient et le Christianisme de l'Occident avaient fait de la Perse, où les deux nouvelles forces idéales s'étaient rencontrées, un centre de lutte, de résistance, propice à la régénération de l'ancienne religiosité mazdéenne. Manés, en concevant sa religion universelle destinée à remplacer l'œuvre de Jésus imparfaite ou corrompue par les disciples du Christ, et qui tâcha, dans cette intention, de concilier le Zoroastrisme et le Christianisme, avait été le précurseur laborieux de Mahomet. Inconsciemment, par un trait de génie, Mahomet reprenait l'œuvre de Manés" (p. 361).

The last work on Muhammad which we have to mention is by Messrs. Lamaisse and Dujarric, and is entitled "*Vie de Mahomet d'après la tradition*."‡ This work, written in a very different spirit from the pre-

* Paris, Champion, 1898.

† Paris, A. Lemerre, 1898. "*Histoire Universelle: Mahomet (A.D. 395 to 632)*."

‡ 2 vols. Paris, Maisonneuve, 1898.

ceding ones, is easy and interesting reading, written by men who know Islamism and value its importance at the present day, but it was a mistake to have taken for the basis of the life of Mahomet, the *Rauzat-us-Safā* by the Persian author Mirkhond, a work destitute of all critical value and all historical research. Notwithstanding the great number of explanatory notes, the reader keeps the impression that the career of Muhammad is of a very legendary character. Does this tend to make a religion clearly known in its real light when presented through the veil of tradition and legend? We think not.

We announce also an interesting article in the "*Revue Africaine*" (No. 231, 1898) by Mr. Luciani, on Mr. Delphin's translation of the Senoussia, published in the "*Journal Asiatique*" (vol. x., p. 356 *et suiv.*), under the title "La philosophie du Cheikh Senoussi, d'après son *Agida Gor'ra*."

We have reserved for the conclusion of this article the most remarkable work we have ever perused. We refer to the first volume of the "History of Arabic Literature," by C. Brockelmann.* We wish to render homage to the deep erudition and science of the author, who has devoted many years of patient research to the elaboration of his work. This first volume is divided into two books: 1. National Arabic literature: (a) The origin of Muhammad; (b) Muhammad and his time; (c) The period of the Ummiyads. 2. Islamic literature in the Arabic language: (a) The classic period, 750—1000; (b) Post-classic period, 1010—1258. This work, which is very exact and full of documents, will be of immense value to Arabists. It has but one fault, a grave one in our opinion, its excessive brevity. In fact, it is more a short literary dictionary than a history of Arabic literature. But, after all, it may possibly be of more service under this abridged form.

* "Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur." Weimar, Felber, 1898.

TWENTY-THIRD REVIEW ON THE
 "SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST" SERIES.

CLARENDON PRESS, OXFORD.

VOL. XLIII. — SATAPATHA BRĀHMANA. TRANSLATED BY
 JULIUS EGGELING. PART IV. BOOKS VIII., IX., AND X.

By JOHN BEAMES, B.C.S. (RET.).

PART III. of this Brāhmana, containing Books V., VI., and VII., was reviewed in our issue for April, 1894. After a period of three years, a further instalment of the laborious and difficult task has been completed. The elaborate instructions regarding the building of the sacred Fire-altar, with all the intricate and mysterious symbolism therewith connected, are here concluded. The subject is one which will prove only moderately interesting to the generality of students, belonging as it does more to the speculative than to the practical side of ancient Hindu worship. "As a matter of fact," the learned translator remarks, "the dogmatic exposition of no other part of the sacrificial ceremonial reflects so fully and so faithfully as that of the Agnichayana those cosmogonic and theoscopic theories which form a characteristic feature of the Brāhmana period." It is thus rather as an exposition of the views of a certain school, than as a guide to the ceremonies actually in force in ancient times, that this section of the work is to be regarded. Indeed, the time required and the cost involved must have placed the ceremony beyond the means of all but the very wealthiest class of worshippers.

The preface, as is usual in the works contained in this series, explains with much lucidity and precision all that the text really means, and possibly the ordinary reader after going through the preface will find that he knows as much about the subject as is worth knowing, and will spare himself the labour of toiling through the text.

Briefly stated, all these elaborate performances merely point to that stage of Indian thought at which the idea of the one Supreme Being was evolved out of the mass of gods, the personifications of the powers of Nature, composing the primitive Aryan Pantheon. Of the various names, corresponding to different concepts, applied to this Supreme Being, that of Prajāpati, or Lord of Creatures, is predominant in the Brāhmanas. The first development of this idea cannot be better stated than in the words of the translator :

"In the so-called Purusha-hymn (Rig-veda x. 90) in which the Supreme Spirit is conceived of as *the* Person or Man (purusha) born in the beginning and consisting of 'whatsoever hath been and whatsoever shall be,' the creation of the visible and invisible universe is represented as originating from an 'all-offered' (holocaust) sacrifice (yajna) in which the Purusha himself forms the offering-material (havis) or, as one might say, the victim."

This Purusha is Prajapati, and as a further step in the development the person who offers the sacrifice—the patron, or sacrificer—is identified with him. Thus the sacrificer offers himself, at first directly; subsequently, vicariously; the idea of substitution entering in, so that he makes the offering in lieu of himself."

Following out these mysterious speculations to their ultimate consequences, the result arrived at is that by sacrificing himself Prajapati becomes dismembered, and his component parts are regarded as forming the whole universe, the whole range, in fact, of visible material objects. A constantly renewed series of sacrifices is required to restore him again to unity, and so build up and renew the universe. For this purpose the great Fire-altar is elaborately constructed with a long and minute ritual, each act in which is in the highest degree symbolical, mystic, and significant. The identification of Prajapati with Agni the god of fire, and with the worshipper, gives rise to a Triad, the mention of which constantly recurs.

It is unnecessary to go into the whole of the tedious and intricate detail of a ceremony which seems to have lasted for a whole year. There is first the moulding and baking of the bricks of which the altar is to be built, then that of the pan in which the sacrificial fire is to be carried. The altar is in the shape of a large bird—an eagle or falcon—with its head towards the East. Concerning this shape we are plunged into a maze of symbols and references, where everything becomes something else, and the mind is lost in a fog of allusions, obscure significances, and mystic combinations. Those who are interested in such matters may work them out for themselves, and they will be thankful for the guidance afforded them in treading this bewildering labyrinth by the patient acumen and skill of the learned translator. The practical result to the sacrificer—that is, to the wealthy person who causes this elaborate ceremony to be performed for his benefit—is thus described:

"The sacrificial theory holds out to the pious performer of this holy ceremony the prospect of living up to the full extent of the perfect man's life, a hundred years; this term of years being thus recognised as another unit of time, so to speak, viz., that of a complete lifetime. Yet sooner or later the life of every creature comes to an end; and since time works its havoc on all material existence and carries off generation after generation, the supreme lord of generation, Father Time, as he is the giver of all life, so he is likewise the ender of all things—Death. And so the sacrificer, as the human counterpart of the Lord of Creatures, with the end of his present life, becomes himself death. Death ceases to have power over him, and he is for ever removed from the life of material existence, trouble, and illusion, to the realms of light and everlasting bliss."

Still further pursuing this train of thought, as embodied in the ceremonial of the Fire-altar, we arrive by a circuitous process at the well-known principle, which lies at the root not only of most of the philosophical speculations of the Vedanta, but also of the wide-spread religion of Buddha, the ultimate identification of the human soul with the great Atman of the universe. "That Self of the spirit is my Self: on passing away from hence I shall obtain that Self."

It undoubtedly calls for much cleverness, and considerable acquaintance with the literature and commentaries on Vedic and post-Vedic ceremonies, to elicit from the text as it stands so clear and intelligible an explanation of the meaning of the whole proceeding. For the text itself, even as here translated, is obscure beyond measure, and seems at first sight a mere chaos of directions with explanations, each prefaced by the word "doubtless," of the esoteric significance of each action prescribed. The tenth chapter, entitled the "Mystery of the Fire Altar," is puzzling beyond all description, and the longer one studies it the less one understands it.

The question therefore arises—did anyone ever understand it? Was this elaborate ceremony with its overwhelming mass of mystic detail ever actually performed? Was it not rather an imaginary proceeding invented by a school of philosophizing Brahmans as a vehicle for conveying the doctrines which they sought to teach? All teaching among Hindus is mainly oral. The text-books consist of brief aphorisms, or combinations of syllables, unintelligible in themselves, and intended to be retained in the mind as a *memoria technica* to serve as the basis for oral instruction. The pandit will find ample materials for an hour's lecture in the word "vridhiraḍaich" (Pāṇini i. 1), and at this rate it takes a lifetime to go through a full course of study. It is not uncommon to meet venerable pupils of sixty in a Sanskrit tole in the present day. Looked at in this light the obscurities of the work before us may be perhaps understood as intentional. It is a series of texts intended to be the basis of lengthy oral teaching by which all the obscurities would be explained, all the curt dark sentences expanded, and the full significance of the ritual made clear to those who alone were qualified to perform it. And if it never happened to them to be called on to perform it in the whole course of their lives, they had at least gained the end of all study, an insight into the mysterious meaning of existence, and the methods by which to attain final emancipation from its 'māyā.'

It is, however, a question that may fairly be asked, how far treatises of this special and esoteric nature can be legitimately included in a series of works which has for its avowed object to reveal to the Western world the tenets of the ancient religions of the East. An European student who should assume that the Agnichayana with all its long array of preparations and mystic symbolisms was an ordinary well-known feature of Hindu worship would come to a very erroneous conclusion. The actual rites and ceremonies of Hinduism in the present day are something very different. Fascinating as the study of the Vedas and the great mass of commentaries and philosophical systems built upon them is to some minds, it should not be lost sight of that they belong to the past rather than to the present. Those who study these subjects are presumably acquainted with the Sanskrit language and can study them in the original. Translations are not required for them, or if required, should be published in a form accessible only to students. They should not be intruded into a series the chief, if not only, justification for whose existence is its practical value to the European public. While the other great religion of the East, Islam, is almost entirely neglected in this series, volume after volume is devoted to

the publication of treatises on obscure and unimportant details of an ancient, and for the most part obsolete, phase of Hinduism. We look in vain for translations of the works of the great Mahomedan jurists, though they exercise a powerful and living influence on the faith of millions in Western Asia, Egypt, and Northern Africa, not to mention the immense Musulman population of India and the adjacent lands. With all these countless masses of believers in a vigorous and combative faith we have relations of the most important nature. Surely the Clarendon Press would be doing much better service to Englishmen by making them acquainted with all that is believed and venerated by the Muslim, than in dragging to light useless mystical speculations of dreamy old Brahmins, dust- and cobweb-covered treatises of long-forgotten schools, childish minute instructions for the conduct of ceremonies, which were probably never really performed at any time, and are certainly in the present day as dead and forgotten as the races that lived before the flood.

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BĀBAR'S DIAMOND: WAS IT THE KOH-I-NUR?

BY H. BEVERIDGE.

LES SIX VOYAGES DE JEAN BAPTISTE TAVERNIER,
PARIS, 1677.

LIKE the great Gustavus, the Emperor Babar, the founder of the Mogul dynasty, came forth from the North on his career of conquest, for he issued out of the Highlands of Farghana, on the northern verge of Central Asia, and, moving southwards, subdued the kingdoms of Cabul and India. To him also therefore may justly be applied the epithet of Lion of the North, and this all the more aptly in that the name Bábar, by which he is commonly known, but which was not conferred on him at birth, appears to be a prolongation of the Arabic and Persian Bābar, signifying Lion or Tiger.

There is always a fascination in historical parallels and synchronisms, and so it is worth remembering that Babar invaded India and conquered the upper part of the Eastern Peninsula about thirteen months after the unsuccessful invasion by Francis I. of Italy, the corresponding peninsula of the West, and his defeat and capture under the walls of Pavia.

Babar defeated and killed Ibrahim, the Afghan Sultan of Hindustan, on April 21, 1526, on the plain of Panipat—that Indian Armageddon where so many decisive battles have been fought. On the very day of the victory he despatched two bodies of light troops to take possession of the cities of Delhi and Agra and of their treasures. Delhi was the old capital, and was the place where Babar afterwards had himself proclaimed as sovereign, but Ibrahim's father, Sikandar, had resided much at Agra, and it was at the time of Babar's invasion the wealthiest city in Upper India. It was also more remote from Panipat than Delhi

was, so that the expedition to it was the more difficult and responsible of the two. Hence Babar despatched only inferior captains to Delhi, while he sent his eldest son, Humayun, then a youth of eighteen, and his famous general Khwāja Kilan to take possession of Agra. At that time the city lay on the left or eastern bank of the Jamna, and it was this side which Babar afterwards made his capital. When Humayun arrived, he found that the mother of the late Sultan, and other ladies, and some of the principal officers, had shut themselves up in the Fort. Humayun was either unable or unwilling to take it by assault, and so contented himself with guarding the exits that no one might remove the treasures unobserved, and then awaited the arrival of the main army. As his father writes in his Memoirs :

"The people of the fort had put off Humayun, who had arrived before me, with excuses; and he, on his part, considering that they were under no control, and wishing to prevent their plundering the treasure, had taken a position to shut up the issues from the place."

Among the persons in the Fort were the family and clansmen of Vikramaditya, the former Rajah of Gwalior. This Prince belonged to the race of Tanwar Rajputs, and was the last of his line. His ancestor Pamāl Dev had served with his brother under 'Alā-ed-din Khilji, and had won the approbation of that warrior by their fidelity as sentinels. 'Alā-ed-din rewarded them by the grant of the fortress of Gwalior. This was about 205 years ago, and Vikramaditya was the tenth in succession. His reign was but a short one, for after three years he had been compelled to give up Gwalior to Ibrahim's general, and to accept the insignificant fort and territory of Shamsabad in exchange. Having thus become a vassal of Ibrahim, he followed him to Panipat and was killed there along with him. Shamsabad lies a good way to the east of Agra, and is 18 miles north-west of Fatehgarh, but either the family had not yet removed then from Gwalior, or they had come into Agra for greater security. When they heard that

Vikramaditya had fallen, and saw Humayun at the gates of the fort, they tried to escape, but were caught by Humayun's guards. He, however, treated them with delicacy and respect, and would not suffer these Hindu women to be plundered—a point in which he contrasts favourably with the conduct of our own officers some 250 years later, when they, violating a capitulation, searched and plundered the mother and family of Cheyt Singh, the Rajah of Benares, as they were issuing out of the fort of Bijaigarh. In gratitude for his clemency, the ladies voluntarily presented Humayun with a quantity of jewels and precious stones, and among them was a celebrated diamond, weighing, we are told, eight *misqals*, which, perhaps, may correspond to 187 carats. This is the diamond known as Babar's Diamond, from the circumstance that the first historical mention of it occurs in his Memoirs, though if the facts of acquisition and possession be regarded, it might more justly be called Humayun's Diamond. The passage in the Memoirs is as follows, for it deserves to be quoted in full as the classical passage in the history of the Diamond:

“Bikermâjit, a Hindu, who was Rajah of Gwaliâr, had governed that country for upwards of a hundred years. Sekandar had remained several years in Agra, employed in an attempt to take Gwaliâr. Afterwards, in the reign of Ibrâhim, Azim Hûmâiûn Sirwâni invested it for some time, made several attacks, and at length succeeded in gaining it by treaty, Shamsâbâd being given as an indemnification. In the battle in which Ibrâhim was defeated, Bikermâjit was sent to hell.* Bikermâjit's family, and the heads of his clan, were at this moment in Agra. When Hûmâiûn arrived, Bikermâjit's people attempted to escape, but were taken by the parties which Hûmâiûn had placed upon the watch and put in custody. Hûmâiûn did not permit them to be plundered. Of their own free will they presented to Hûmâiûn a peshkash, consisting of a quantity of jewels and precious stones. Among them was one famous diamond, which had been acquired by Sultan Alâeddîn. It is so valuable that a judge of diamonds valued it at half of the daily expense of the whole world. It is about eight mishqals.† On my arrival, Hûmâiûn presented it to me as a peshkash, and I gave it back to him as a present.” (Erskine's translation, p. 308.)

* The charitable mode in which a good Musulman signifies the death of an infidel. (Erskine's Note.)

† Or 320 ratis. (Erskine's Note.)

Erskine's translation was made from the Persian, but does not materially differ from the later one made by Pavet de Courteille from the Turk original. The opening sentence, however, is probably more correctly rendered by the latter. Erskine represents Babar as saying that Vikramaditya had ruled Gwalior for upwards of a hundred years, but Babar can hardly have meant to say this, for Vikramaditya had a very short reign. Pavet de Courteille's translation is "Bikramadyit l'Hindou avait été raja de Gwalior principauté, qu'il avait héritée de ses pères que y régnaient depuis plus de cent ans." In fact, according to the Gwalior-nama, of which a translation was published at Bombay in 1892 by a member of Scindiah's family, Vikramaditya's ancestors held the Fort for upwards of two hundred years, though he himself had to surrender it after three years' possession. Babar has been called the Cæsar of the East, but he had not Cæsar's education, and his Memoirs are inferior to the Commentaries in precision, though even the latter often baulk our curiosity. One of the most important and most enigmatical passages in the extract is "one famous diamond (almās shahrati) which had been acquired by Sultan 'Alā-ed-din." Pavet de Courteille's translation does not help us here, being merely "un célèbre diamant que Sultan 'Alā-ed-din s'était procuré autrefois," neither does the Persian version of Abdur Rahīm. There have been many 'Alā-ed-dins among the Indian Princes, and Babar does not tell us which of them he means. Only a page or two further on, namely, at p. 311, top line, he speaks of a Sultan 'Alā-ed-din who had been ruler of Delhi, and whose family were Saiyids. This certainly is not Sultan 'Alā-ed-din Khilji, who is commonly supposed to be the person referred to in the extract about the diamond, and the mention of him so shortly afterwards, together with the fact that when Babar has occasion to speak of Sultan 'Alā-ed-din Khilji, as he does on p. 308 shortly before the passage about the diamond, he styles him Khilji, might lead us to suppose that the Sultan 'Alā-ed-din of the diamond

was the last Prince of the Saiyid dynasty, and who died in retirement in 1478 at Badaon. This might remove some difficulties, for it is not easy to see how if Sultan 'Alā-ed-din Khilji acquired the diamond, he or his successors ever allowed it to pass into the hands of the Gwalior* family, or how the great diamond escaped when Timur invaded India and plundered Delhi in the end of the fourteenth century. It is true that it would also have to be explained how the diamond passed from Sultan 'Alā-ed-din the Saiyid to the Rajah of Gwalior. But this Sultan 'Alā-ed-din was a debauched and degenerate Prince, and might have sold it during the eight-and-twenty years which he spent in retirement at Badaon. Shamsabad, too, is not very far from Badaon, and it is possible that the Rajah might have come into possession of the diamond when he removed to Shamsabad after his evacuation of Gwalior. Ferishta, however, states that the diamond was acquired by Sultan 'Alā-ed-din Khilji, and we think that this must be correct, for in the old translation of Babar's Memoirs by his Secretary and Chief Justice Shaikh Zain, British Museum, MS. Add. 26,202, p. 43^b, we are told that the diamond was brought to India (Hind) by Sultan 'Alā-ed-din, the hero of the age. This can only refer to Sultan 'Alā-ed-din Khilji, and must mean that he brought the diamond from some place out of India proper, *i.e.*, within Gujrat or the Deccan. Sultan 'Alā-ed-din ruled India from 1295-1316, but his great expedition to the Deccan, where he conquered Malwa and acquired immense treasure, occurred in 1294, when he was only a prince serving under his uncle. Or he may have obtained the diamond in Gujrat, which was his first great expedition after he ascended the throne. This was in 1297, when he

* A possible explanation is that the diamond never really passed into the hands of the Gwalior family as their own private property. A passage in Khwandamir's Humayun-nama tells us that the treasury of the old kings of Delhi was in the fort on the east side of the Jamna, and indeed eastern monarchs always had their treasury in a fort. It may be that the Rajah of Gwalior was the treasurer, or his family may have procured the diamond from the treasury at the time when there was a general attempt to escape.

defeated Rajah Karan, the last Hindu King of Gujrat, and obtained a large amount of booty. The tradition that Sultan 'Alā-ed-din procured the diamond from the Deccan may still be true, even if the stone was originally at Gujrat, for Rajah Karan fled to Southern India, and was there plundered a second time by 'Alā-ed-din's generals. It was then that he lost his daughter, the beautiful Dewal De, who was afterwards married to 'Alā-ed-din's son, her mother having already become the wife of 'Alā-ed-din. Possibly the name of the Rajah gave rise to the story that the diamond had once belonged to the Karna of the Mahabharat. It is also possible,* though certainly not probable, that 'Alā-ed-din may have rewarded Vikramaditya's ancestors—the two brothers whom he saw keeping watch on a night in the rains—not only with Gwalior Fort, but also with the great diamond.

Babar arrived at Agra on May 4, 1526, and the diamond was probably tendered to him by Humayun on that or the following day. His mention of the diamond on this occasion is the first and last notice of it which we have in the Memoirs, but there is an allusion to it in the Akbar-nama and other works which carries down its history for about four years further. This is in the accounts of how Babar devoted himself for his son's life. The touching story has been well told by Erskine, and need not be repeated here in detail. We need only say that when Babar in obedience to the dictates of ancient sages resolved to lay down his life for his son, his courtiers implored him to forbear, and suggested that instead of his own life he should sacrifice the priceless diamond which had mysteriously come into Humayun's hands during the war with Ibrahim. The meaning of the old saying which had so affected Babar was, they urged, that the sick man should part with his most cherished material possession, which was in Humayun's

* The passage in Shaikh Zain is so rhetorical that the meaning is not clear, but perhaps the "necklace of fidelity" referred to in it may be an allusion to the ancestor of the Gwalior family.

case, the great diamond. But Babar had a truer sense of the value of a glittering stone, and refused to be cajoled. What was a stone, he indignantly exclaimed, in comparison with his son's life? He himself was his child's most valuable possession, just as Humayun was his, and he was ready for the sacrifice. And he carried out his resolve with the result, we are told, that Humayun recovered and that Babar shortly afterwards died. This anecdote shows that the diamond was in Humayun's possession towards the end of 1530, for Babar died in December of that year. We have also the statement of Shaikh Zain, the first translator of the Memoirs, that the diamond was at the time of his writing in the Imperial Treasury. Shaikh Zain, as we learn from Badaonī, I. 472, died near Chunar in 1532, and his translation was probably made a year or so after Babar's death.

There is another and valuable reference to the diamond in a book written in the time of Babar's reign. This is the MS. Or. 1717 of the British Museum, Rieu's Catalogue III. 9956. It is a small treatise on precious stones, written by one Muhammad, son of Ashraf al. Husaini, of Rustamdār (a district in Māzāndaran, Persia, and south of the Caspian), and dedicated to Babar and his son Humayun. One of the chapters is devoted to diamonds. It describes the different kinds of stones, mentioning the tests for distinguishing the best sorts, and refers especially to the two kinds (known as the old *kuhna* = the roca velha of Garcia de Orta's Colloquies). The writer also dwells on the special skill of the Franks in cutting diamonds, and on the large prices which they are thus able to obtain. Then he mentions that the King of Gujrat (meaning apparently Bahadur Shah) has many diamonds of the new sorts in his Treasury which weigh from 30 to 40 carats, and then at 256 he has the following passage :

"All connoisseurs of jewels are agreed that no one has ever seen a diamond of the old sort weighing more than a carat,* but in the fortunate

* Possibly some figure has slipped out of the MS. here.

time of the Emperor Babar (here follows a long list of titles for Babar and his son) a peerless and unquestionable diamond was obtained from the Fort of Gwalior which was seven misqāls in weight, and is in the possession of Prince Humayun. Cognoscenti are at a loss how to estimate its value, but they do say that the King of Gujrat offered a crore of rupees (tankas) for it. No private individual has ever seen such a diamond, or heard of it, nor is there mention of it in any book."

The exact date of this treatise is not known, but though it was written in Babar's lifetime it was evidently composed after his victory at Fatehpur Sikri in March, 1527, for it gives Babar the title of Ghazi, which he only assumed after he had defeated the Hindus under Rana Sanga. It is not likely that the author was in India in 1526, otherwise he would not have made the mistake of saying that the diamond was procured from the Fort of Gwalior. The statement about the King of Gujrat is interesting, but unfortunately it is not quite clear. The word which we have translated, "offered," is "*miḥharidand*," and may mean that the King is or was buying the diamond from Humayun. If so the King meant must be Bahadur Shah, who was afterwards murdered by the Portuguese. If the statement referred back to the days of 'Alā-ed-din, the ruler of Gujrat would have been called Rajah, for he was a Hindu. The meaning may even be that the King of Gujrat buys diamonds for a crore of rupees, the reference being not to the Babar Diamond but to the diamonds of 30 and 40 carats in his Treasury.

Babar died in December, 1530, and was succeeded by his son Humayun. He reigned for about nine and a half years, and then was driven out of India by the Afghan Sher Shah, whose name is said to be identical with that of Xerxes. Humayun fled to Sind and from thence to Persia, and did not return to India till after fifteen years of exile. He recovered his throne, but did not live long to enjoy it, for he was accidentally killed less than six months after he had re-entered Delhi. The following are the dates of his career. He was born at Kabul 7 March, 1508; succeeded to the throne December, 1530; defeated by Sher Shah in 1539, and again on May 17, 1540; entered Persia

December, 1543 or January 1544; marched against India January, 1555; killed January, 1556.

The question is, Where was the great diamond during Humayun's wanderings? Most writers on the subject, *e.g.* Professor Maskelyne and Mr. Streeter, seem to have taken it for granted that the diamond remained in security at Agra. They consider that they have almost established the identity of Babar's Diamond with that seen by Tavernier in November, 1665, when they have shown that the former was in Agra in May, 1526. They leave out of sight the facts that there is no mention of Babar's diamond being at Agra or Delhi during this interval of nearly 140 years, and that two great revolutions occurred during this period. First there was the revolution by which Humayun lost his throne, and secondly there was the counter revolution by which he regained it. Surely it was unlikely that a thing so precious and so portable as this great jewel would remain undisturbed during these tumults? Mr. Ball, to do him justice, sees this difficulty, or at least part of it (for he makes no reference to the revolutions), and observes that there is no evidence that a diamond of the weight of Babar's Diamond was in the possession of the Mogul Emperors at any period subsequent to 1526. This, as we shall hereafter see, is not quite correct, for there is excellent evidence that the diamond was in Humayun's possession up to 1544. But no doubt Mr. Ball has pointed out the weak place in Messrs. Maskelyne and Streeter's arguments. And we can support his view by a strong argument drawn from the writings of Abul Fazl, the secretary of Akbar the son of Humayun and grandson of Babar. Abul Fazl wrote his *Āyin Akbari* in the last decade of the 16th century, and in it he has a chapter on the treasuries of jewels. There he tells us that Akbar had in his treasury a diamond weighing $5\frac{1}{2}$ * tānks, 4 sarkhs, and valued at a lac of rupees. A tānk is said to have been equal to four māshāhs, or 32 ratis, and thus this diamond, evidently the largest in Akbar's treasury,

* Not $5\frac{1}{4}$ as in Blochmann's translation, p. 16.

weighed 180 ratis, or about 100 carats. Clearly this could not be Babar's Diamond, which weighed 320 ratis, and was of priceless value, and which Abul Fazl elsewhere describes as worth the revenues of kingdoms and climates. It may even be doubted if this diamond of Akbar really weighed as much as 100 carats. Possibly the weight of a *tānk* has been overestimated. *Tānk* is perhaps different from a *tāng* or tank, and, as Vullers remarks, it seems (sometimes at least) to be the same word as *dāng*, which Abul Fazl describes as being the sixth part of a *misqal*. We may also point out, too, that though the *masha* is commonly said to be equal to 8 ratis Abul Fazl gives 5 as the equivalent at p. 87 of Blochmann's translation. Certainly a diamond weighing 100 carats should have been, if not priceless, worth a great deal more than a lac of rupees if at all of pure water. But we are not left to conjecture or to negative evidence as to what became of the diamond when Humayun fled from Agra. We have positive evidence that he took it with him. The fact is that Humayun was like the dying king of Goethe's ballad, who could part with everything but the cup which his mistress had given him. Humayun left behind him his kingdom, his infant daughter, and many of his wives, and he even abandoned his son Akbar when fleeing from Afghanistan, but he clung throughout his wanderings to the diamond which the Gwalior princess had given him, and which his father had allowed him to keep. At the last, indeed, he had to part with it, but this was when he gave it to his friend and host Shāh Tahmāsp, the King of Persia, and in acknowledgment of priceless services.

That Humayun carried off valuable jewels with him is proved by the statements of Jauhar the ewer-bearer, and also by the curious story told by Abul Fazl in connection with Humayun's wanderings in Rajputana. He tells us (Bib. Ind., ed. Akbarnama I. 180) that when Humayun was approaching Rajah Maldeo's territories, one Sankāi of Nagor, a confidant of Maldeo, came into his camp and tried to purchase valuable diamonds (or perhaps a valuable

diamond). Humayun suspecting treachery, sent word to the would-be purchaser* that such jewels (jawāhir) were not to be purchased save by the shimmer (jauhar) of the sword. Evidently this is the same adventure as that described in the ewer-bearer's Memoirs (Stewart, p. 38), and must, we think, refer to an attempt on the part of Maldeo to get possession of the Babar Diamond. We have also a long story told by Princess Gulbadan, Humayun's half-sister, in her Memoirs, about two servants stealing Humayun's jewels, and how his brother-in-law succeeded by an artifice in recovering them from the thief's turban. Part of this story is also told by Jauhar, and probably this was one of the many hair-breadth escapes of the Koh-i-Nur. On another occasion, chronicled by Jauhar (Stewart, 67), the King took off the purse containing his diamonds while performing his ablutions, and forgot to pick it up again. Honest Jauhar restored it to him.

Though Abul Fazl does not say in so many words that the diamond which Humayun presented to Tahmāsp was Babar's Diamond, yet he clearly implies this, for he tells us (I. 217) that Humayun presented to Tahmāsp a precious diamond worth the revenues of climes and countries, and 250 Badakhshān rubies. And he rather ungraciously adds that by so doing Humayun repaid Tahmāsp more than four times for all the expenditure that he had made for Humayun, either from his privy purse or his public treasury, from the time of Humayun's entering Persia to the time of his leaving it. Now when we consider that Humayun was royally entertained for about a twelvemonth, and that he left Persia with a Persian army of 12,000 horse which had been collected and equipped by Tahmāsp, and which enabled Humayun to take Qandahār and to recover possession of Afghanistan, it must have been indeed a priceless diamond which could more than equal such an outlay. Certainly not even Abul Fazl's rhetoric would have allowed him to

* Erskine, Hist. II. 240, erroneously represents Sankāi as trying to *sell* a diamond.

represent these services as repaid by such a paltry jewel as that in his master's treasury, and which was only valued at a lac of rupees! Jauhar (Stewart, 68) also refers to Humayun's gift of a diamond and other jewels, and says that Tahmāsp was astonished at seeing them, and sent for his jewellers to appraise them. They reported that they were "above all price." And this is always the way in which the Babar Diamond is spoken of; other diamonds could be estimated, but this one could not be appraised, except by a fantastic reference to the expenditure of the world. We are reminded here of Bernier's expression about Mir Jamla's diamond, "*ce grand diamant qu'on estime sanspareil.*" It is worth while pointing out that Stewart in a note to his translation of Jauhar, which seems to have been overlooked by all the writers on the Koh-i-Nur, suggests that the diamond presented to Tahmāsp by Humayun was the Vikramaditya, or Babar Diamond. We have, however, direct evidence on this point. In the British Museum there is a Persian MS. Or. 53, Rieu's Catalogue of part of the history written by Khur Shāh the ambassador of Ibrahim Qutb Shāh the King of Golconda* at the Persian Court. He tells us in so many words that Humayun presented to Tahmāsp the diamond which his father Babar had got from Sultan Ibrahim's Treasury, and which weighed $6\frac{1}{2}$ misqals, and was reckoned by judges to be worth the expenditure of the whole universe for two days and a half. He adds that Tahmāsp did not think so much of it, and that he afterwards sent it to India as a present to Nizām Shāh the ruler of the Deccan, *i.e.*, to Burhān Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar. This very important passage is at 586 of the MS., and is as follows:

"King Humayun presented as peshkash to His Majesty the Shah a diamond which had come into the hands of his father Babar Mirza out of the Treasury of Sultan Ibrahim, and which the said Mirza had bestowed

* In his supplemental volume, p. 19, Dr. Rieu points out that a MS. of Khur Shah's history described under No. 32, shows that he was the ambassador of the King of Golconda.

upon him (Humayun), and also some rubies and emeralds. It is notorious that a connoisseur of jewels valued this diamond at two and half days' subsistence of the whole world. Its weight is $6\frac{1}{2}$ misqals. But in the eyes of His Majesty the Shah, it was not of such great value (chanān 'itibārī nayāft). At last he sent that diamond along with Āqā Islām, commonly known as Mahtar Jamāl, as a present to Nizām Shah, the ruler of the Deccan, as will be recorded hereafter, if God will."

There is a similar statement in another MS. of Khur Shāh's work (MS. Or. 3535, p. 359b) where, when speaking of the events of Babar's reign, the diamond is referred to, and Shaikh Zain is quoted as stating that it had been brought to India by Sultan Alaaddin. But in this MS. Khur Shāh gives the weight as 7 misqals. Khur Shāh's statement is corroborated by Ferishta, who in his account of Burhān Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar, mentions that Shāh Ismail (a mistake for Tahmāsp) sent a large diamond, which had been King Humayun's, as a present by the hands of Āqā Sulaiman (?), commonly known as Mahtar Jamāl.

Khur Shāh does not appear to have fulfilled his intention of giving an account of Mahtar Jamāl's embassy. Probably he died before he got to that part of his history, for we find that his death occurred in Golconda in A.H. 972 (1564-65). But we have a reference to Mahtar Jamāl in a work which treats of the Kings of the Deccan. In the British Museum, MS. Add. 9997, Rieu's Catalogue, 314b, we have at p. 266 the statement that Mahtar Jamāl was sent by Tahmāsp to Burhān Nizām Shāh with endless presents. We also find that he arrived at Ahmadnagar and delivered his master's letter, but that he afterwards fell under Tahmāsp's displeasure on account of some improper acts, and that persons were accordingly sent from Persia to apprehend him. Mahtar Jamāl, however, got wind of this in time, and escaped in a boat. We also learn from the same MS. that Mahtar Jamāl's embassy was in 954 A.H. (1547), and that the letter which he brought was dated Rabi al awwal of that year. This agrees with the Ahsan Tārikh, Add. 4134, which tells us (p. 125a) that

an embassy was sent by Tahmāsp to Nizām al Mulk, *i.e.*, the King of Ahmadnagar in 954.

We are now in a position to give two more dates in the history of Babar's Diamond. The meeting between Humayun and Tahmāsp took place in Jamādī al awwal 951 (July to August, 1544), and Mahtar Jamāl's embassy was in 954 (1547).

These dates carry on the history of the stone for twenty-one years after its acquisition by Humayun, and show how it went first to Persia, and then back to Southern India, which apparently was its original home. After 1547 we have no certain knowledge of the fate of the diamond, but we can give grounds for believing that it was the same diamond which was presented in the next century to Shāh Jahān by Mir Jamla, and which Tavernier saw at the Court of Aurangzib.

There is in the British Museum a copy of the first edition of the "Portuguese Colloquies concerning Simples and Drugs," by Dr. Garcia de Orta. This was printed at Goa in April, 1563, and is believed to be the earliest book printed in India. The author discourses about diamonds in chapter xliii., and at p. 162a, he says he has seen a diamond weighing 140 mangelis, and another weighing 120, and has heard of one weighing 250 mangelis, though the man alleged to possess it denied that he had it. And then he adds the important statement that he heard many years ago from a man worthy of belief that he had seen in Bisanagar, *i.e.*, Vijayanagar, a diamond as big as the small egg of a fowl (*ovo pequeno de galinha*). Mr. Ball thinks that this might be the great diamond which Tavernier afterwards saw in 1665, and we submit that it probably was Babar's Diamond. As that diamond was in Southern India in 1547, it might easily have come to Vijayanagar and been seen there by Garcia de Orta's informant many years (*muytos annos*) before 1563, the date of his book. It has been seen that we are quite in the dark as to what became of Babar's Diamond after it was sent to Ahmadnagar by

the hands of Mahtar Jamāl. Possibly this man never delivered it to the Nizām Shāh, and it may have been misconduct with regard to it which led to Tahmāsp's order for his arrest. Vijayanagar,* or Hanpī, was the capital of an old Hindu kingdom which was subverted in 1564 at the battle of Talikot. It is no doubt a long way to the south of Ahmadnagar, but even if the diamond ever got to the latter place, there is nothing improbable in its afterwards finding its way to Vijayanagar, which, as Barbassa and Garcia de Orta tell us, was a great mart for diamonds. The diamond which Tavernier saw had the shape of an egg cut through the middle, and this also was the shape of the Koh-i-Nur before it was cut. Mr. Ball accepts Tavernier's statement that the diamond he saw had been originally much larger, and had been badly cut by Hortensio Borgis. Hence Mr. Ball thinks that the old shape may have been that of a hen's egg. But even as figured by Tavernier, the resemblance to an egg, or at least to half an egg, might have been sufficiently striking to have justified Garcia de Orta's informant in speaking of it as resembling the small egg of a fowl. Unfortunately, we have no mention anywhere of the shape of Babar's Diamond, but would it be too fanciful to conjecture that it was its likeness to an egg which suggested to the connoisseur in diamonds the quaint comparison of its ability to support the whole world for half a day, or for a day, or for two and a half days, for we have all three statements? It was the diamond-egg which could yield food to millions!

We now lose sight of the diamond for upwards of a century, if indeed we ever meet it again, for all "is clouded with a doubt." This time it is associated with Mir Jamla, the famous general of Aurangzib and the conqueror of Assam and Kuch Behar. Mir Jamla, whose real name seems to

* It is Mr. Ball who identifies Garcia de Orta's Bisnaguar with Vijayanagar, but may it not be Golconda to which Tavernier (H. 94) gives the name of Bagnagar, as also does Bernier? Garcia speaks of diamond-mines in Bisnaguar, which agrees better with Golconda than with Vijayanagar or the Bellary district.

have been Mir Muhammad S'aid, was a Persian by birth, and is said to have been of humble origin.* Like many other Persians he was attracted to Golconda and the Deccan by similarity of religion, for the Deccan princes had become Shias, and it was on this account that Tahmasp had sent the Nizām of Ahmadnagar such magnificent presents. Mir Jamla seems to have commenced life as a diamond merchant, but in time he became an officer of high rank under Abdullah Qutb Shāh, the King of Golconda. The misconduct of his son, however, and perhaps his own desire for a wider field of action, led him to desert his master and to attach himself to Aurangzib, who was then in the Deccan as the representative of his father, Shāh Jahān. Mir Jamla met Aurangzib in 1656, and was afterwards sent by him to Delhi to be introduced to Shāh Jahān. We are told both by Bernier and Tavernier that Mir Jamla presented a large diamond to Shah Jahan, and the question is if this was Babar's Diamond. Mr. Ball answers this question in the negative, and certainly if the diamond which Tavernier saw and figured was the one which originally weighed 900 ratis, it is difficult to see how it could be Babar's Diamond, especially as Tavernier tells us, p. 305, that it had been found in a mine in Golconda, which had only been opened about a hundred years before. The point, however, is not so clear as Mr. Ball thinks. Tavernier is no doubt to be trusted when he is speaking of what he himself saw, and we see no reason to disbelieve him when he tells us that he saw and handled a diamond weighing $319\frac{1}{2}$ ratis. But it does not follow that the story about the original weight of the diamond, and its being spoilt by the Venetian Hortensio Borgis was true. Tavernier probably heard all this from Namal Agil Khan and his two companions, whom he describes at p. 84 as

* Such is one account, but Jahangir, who was likely to be well informed, tells us that Mir Jamla belonged to a noble family of Saiyids in Ispahan, and that his cousin was the King of Persia's son-in-law. He migrated to Golconda about 1605, and after serving Muhammad Qutb, the king of Golconda, for some years, returned to Persia. After that he served Jahangir for some time, and then returned to Golconda.

being great rogues. Moreover, it appears from Khafi Khan (Bib. Ind., ed. I. 749 and 753) that Mir Jamla presented two diamonds, one to Aurangzib and the other to Shāh Jahān. The diamond presented to Aurangzib was an uncut one, and may very likely have been that which was afterwards cut by the Venetian. The other weighed, according to Khafi Khan, 216 sarkhs or ratis, while the author of the Maasir-al-Umra, Bib. Ind., ed. III. 535, tells us that it weighed nine táńks, or 216 sarkhs. Now, if we take the táńk to be a little over 4 mashas, viz., 4 mashas $1\frac{2}{3}$ sarkhs, as Blochmann says, p. 16n., we get a weight for this diamond of 300 ratis, or not far short of the weight of Babar's Diamond. The alternative weight of 216 sarkhs, i.e., ratis, is still nearer the weight of 4 mishqals, 4 dangs assigned to the Babar Diamond by two Persian writers, for 4 mishqals, 4 dangs = 199 ratis. It will be remembered that the king referred to by Tavernier in vol. ii., chap. x., p. 248, is Aurangzib, and that it was only his jewels that he saw. This was on November 1, 1665, and Shāh Jahān was then still alive, though in confinement, and did not die till January, 1666. Tavernier tells us, as also does Bernier, that Shāh Jahān kept his jewels whilst he was in prison, and that he was so angry when Aurangzib asked for the loan of them on the occasion of his coronation that he called several times for a mortar and pestle that he might pound them into powder. His daughter, Begum Sahiba, or Jahān Ārā, however induced him to refrain from this act of vengeance (Tavernier ii. 235). According to Bernier, Shāh Jahān afterwards so far became reconciled to his son Aurangzib as to send him some of the jewels which he had at first refused him. But apparently Aurangzib only came into possession of most of them after his father's death, when Jahān Ārā brought them to him, as related both by Tavernier (ii. 218) and by Bernier. It may therefore well be that Babar's Diamond was never seen by Tavernier, but remained with Shāh Jahān till his death. Naturally, if it was one specially made a present of to Shāh Jahan by Mir Jamla, it would remain with Shāh Jahān in

his prison. This hypothesis would remove all the difficulty about identifying Babar's Diamond with Tavernier's, but would, on the other hand, destroy the arguments based on the coincidence in weight between Babar's Diamond and Tavernier's, and also on the resemblance in shape between Tavernier's diamond and the uncut Koh-i-Nur. Tavernier does not seem to have been aware that two diamonds were presented by Mir Jamla, but perhaps it was the unconscious confusion caused by there being two which led him to say at p. 249 that the great diamond was presented to Shāh Jahān, and at p. 305 that it was presented to Aurangzib. The fact that there were two diamonds obviates many difficulties, and also may explain the statement of the Persian nobleman mentioned in Forbes' Oriental Memoirs, and quoted by Mr. Ball, about two large diamonds having been carried off by Nadir Shāh.

Though we cannot establish any connection between Mahtar Jamāl* and Mir Jamla, yet they were both Persians, and from places not far apart (Tehran and Ardistan), and both were employed in Southern India. Mir Jamla, as a diamond merchant, can hardly have avoided hearing of Babar's Diamond, and of its return to Southern India. What more natural than that it should come into the market during the convulsions then occurring in Southern India, and that Mir Jamla should purchase it or otherwise get possession of it, and then present it to Shāh Jahān, or to his son? The fact that it was Babar's Diamond, and a historical jewel of the Mogul family would make it all the more acceptable a present.

It remains to say a few words about the weight of Babar's Diamond. The coincidence between the weight given by Babar and that given by Tavernier for the great diamond is indeed extraordinary, and seems to point to their being

* Both names seem to have been titles. Mir Jamla's real name, according to Jahangir, was Muhammad Amir, and the title Mir Jamla was conferred on him by the King of Golconda. According to M'atamad Khan, Mir Jamla also served at one time under Adil Khan (of Bijapur?). This would bring him nearer Ahmadnagar and Babar's Diamond.

one and the same stone. 'And such has been the view of Elphinstone, Erskine, and others. On the other hand, it must be admitted that native writers vary very much in their statements of the diamond's weight, and that it is also not clear what Babar meant by the word mishqal, or what its exact weight was. Perhaps Babar meant some coin, but what coin is the question. He may mean a gold mishqal or a silver one. At p. 332 he speaks of the mishqal being equal to 5 mashas or 40 ratis, and it is in this way of course that we arrive at the weight of 320 ratis for his diamond. Abul Fazl tells us in his *Āyin*, Blochmann's translation, that the gold coin called the dinar weighed one mishqal and that the latter was equal to $1\frac{3}{4}$ * dirhams. So perhaps we might get at the weight of Babar's mishqal by weighing a dirham and adding $\frac{3}{4}$ thereto. But it is not only the weight of the mishqal that is in question. The number of mishqals that the diamond weighed varies very much. Babar says it weighed *about* (the *à peu près* of P. M. Courteille, and ghālīban of the Persian) 8 mishqals, Khur Shāh says $6\frac{1}{2}$ in one place and 7 in another, Iskandar Munshi, the author of the *'Ālam Ārāi*, says, Rieu supplemental volume, British Museum Add. 7654, p. 78a, that two authorities, viz., Hasan Beg and Qāzi Ahmed Ghafārī, have stated the weight of the diamond to be 4 mishqals 4 dāngs, and we have verified his references (see British Museum MS. Or. 141 222b, and British Museum Add. 4134). On the other hand, British Museum MS. Or. 4678 p. 124a gives the enormous weight of 24 mishqals 4 dangs.

We have now given all the information that we have been able to gather about the early history of Babar's Diamond. We regret that we have not more to offer, and freely confess that we are unable to say positively if the diamond was the Koh-i-Nur or not. We hope that someone will pursue the inquiry, and would suggest that investi-

* Professor Maskelyne apparently takes the mishqal as only equal to a dirham, but if we take Abul Fazl's calculation, we shall have to add nearly a half to this weight.

gations made at Ahmadnagar and Haidarabad might have good results and show what became of the diamond after it was brought back to Southern India. We submit, however, that we have thrown some light on the subject. We have carried on the history of the diamond to 1547, when 1526 has hitherto been regarded as the first and last historical mention of it. Above all, we have removed the difficulty hitherto felt, that Babar's Diamond could not be the Koh-i-Nur because it had always been in Northern India, whereas the Koh-i-Nur, if it were the same as Mir Jomla and Tavernier's diamond, must have come from the Deccan in the 17th century.

FIRDŪSI AN ACCURATE HISTORIAN: THE PÁRTHIANS, MAGIANS, FROM THE TIME OF THE VEDÁS.

BY JAMSHEDJEE PÁLLONJEE KÁPADIA.

DURING the rule of the "Commonwealth of the Magian monarchies," both in Persia and Tartary, when their power was at its greatest height, the Magian religion was practised to a very large extent in several of their provinces. It has been stated by Pliny (*vide* H. N., xxx. 2), who lived about the middle of this period, "that the doctrine of the Magians prevails to this day among a great part of the nations, and in the East is supreme over the 'King of Kings' (*i.e.*, the Arsacids), and vouches for Hermippus that he had written with great care about the Magians, from whose work he quotes some particulars of the doctrine of Zoroaster" (see Max Duncker's "History of Antiquity," vol. v., p. 54). This religion, no doubt, had been in existence for centuries, and had naturally become sectarian and considerably altered; but the Párthians of whom we are speaking had been born and bred to Zoroastrianism from their very commencement. They clearly distinguished between Hormazd and Ahriman; they swore by Mithrá, the Méhar Yazad of the Parsees, while entering into contracts; they held Anahitá (Ab án Ardisúr) in the highest veneration, and looked upon Fire as a sacred symbol of God. Gibbon records that about this time nearly seventy different sects would interpret the sacred scriptures of the Avestá differently in different ways according to their lights, and this statement of the historian of the "Decline and Fall" has been borne out by the Arab writer Sárístání. Strabo tells us that many foreign rites and ceremonies had at his time been incorporated by contact with non-Zoroastrians into the old primitive faith of Zoroaster. But it is hard to believe that during the seventy-five years that the Greeks ruled in Persia after the death of Alexander they could have succeeded in converting the Iranian Zoroastrians to their own faith. In the first place, the Mahometans, in spite of their fanaticism and their power of the sword, have signally failed during a period of nearly 1,300 years to convert the whole of Persia to Islám. In the next, the Greeks, and even the Jews, of that age were not all in the habit of proselytizing, and hence it is impossible that the Zoroastrian religion could at all have been effaced in so short a space of time. Nevertheless it is but natural to expect that men's minds continued to be influenced more or less by the Greek philosophy, down to the end of the Párthian rule. Arrian, the biographer of Alexander, who lived in the reign of Hadrian and the Párthian King Vologeses or Narsees II., and was the Roman Governor of Kápadokiá between the years A.D. 132 to 136, states that Alexander had quite a predilection for Parsee rites and ceremonies, and had himself got several of his generals married to Parsee ladies in accordance with Parsee ceremonies. It is related that on one

occasion in the capital city of Susá he had as many as ten thousand of his Greek soldiers married to as many Parsee women, and no less than a hundred of his best and ablest generals married to young Parsee ladies of high birth and noble lineage. Similarly he did not hesitate to marry Greek women to the noble youths of Persia in accordance with the Persian rites and ceremonies. And this fact is corroborated by the Persian poet, Firdúsi, who relates that Alexander himself was married to Statirá, daughter of Darius, after the custom of the Majusis (Magians). His words are:

*"Nashistand ve oortú be a'hin bekhást,
Be rasm-i-Majoosín ve páivand rúst."*

That is to say, "having seated the princess by his side, he got himself married to her and entered into the sacred bond of matrimony according to Zoroastrian rites." This couplet has been corrupted by ignorant copyists, and is found in all the extant editions of the *Sháh-Námeh* with the words, "*Be rasmé Massihá*"—that is, according to Christian rites. But I cannot believe that Firdúsi, whose knowledge of Christianity was so extensive, could at all have made such a blunder. For from the commencement of the Khalifate in Persia down to the death of Ma'hmoód of Ghiznee and even later, Christians of the Nestorian sect were largely employed as clerks in Government offices. Firdúsi himself says to his patron that in "your Majesty's exalted countries not only there are Mahometans but even Magians, Jews and Christians live in large numbers." Thus the great poet, having had to come in contact with learned men of diverse Christian and Magian sects, had acquired a thorough knowledge of Magism and Christianity and also of the age of Jesus Christ. Moreover, the sarcastic couplets which were addressed by the poet to the Roman Emperor of the time of Chosroes II., and which were conveyed to the former by Khúrád-Búrjin, the then Persian Ambassador at the Court of Constantinople, are a clear reflex and a true translation of the well-known "Sermon on the Mount" (see my "Magian Monarchies," p. 85, note 1). This also shows that Firdúsi could not have been guilty of the blunder attributed to him by Mr. Turner Macan (*vide* his *Sháh-Námeh*, English Preface) and others as to the age of Christ falling long after the advent of Alexander. Again, it is also incorrect to trace the error, as some scholars have done, ultimately to Pehlevi writers on which the *Sháhá-Námeh* was originally based. For during the era of the Sassanides the Parsee Dasturs had frequently to enter into philosophic and religious discussions with Christian priests, especially the then newly-converted Armenians, and it is not too much to suppose that these Dasturs could not have held their own, as they appear to have done against their antagonists in argument, without a thorough knowledge of the history and doctrine of the Christian religion (see English translations of "Dinkard," "Epistles of Minoscheher and Sikand Gumánic Vajar," and other Pehlevi works).

It was the invariable practice of Alexander, as it was of Napoleon in modern times, out of pure political motives, to endeavour to bring Europe and Asia into closer union by promoting matrimonial alliances between the two races. And the Mobeds of those days seem to have given him their

weighty support. For they laid it down that no Mobed could legally perform the *Ashirwád* ceremony on the marrying couple without first investing the non-Zoroastrian party with the *Súdréh* and *Kústí* (the Parsee sacred shirt and thread). Hence, if we are correctly informed that the Greek officers and soldiers were married to Parsee ladies in accordance with Parsee rites and ceremonies, they must have been made to put on the *Súdréh* and *Kústí* even for a while during the progress of the *Ashirwád* ceremony. If after the ceremony is over the party not of the Zoroastrian faith took off the *Súdréh* and *Kústí*, that did not in any way invalidate the union, and the marriage continued to be a valid and subsisting one between the parties "till death do them part." Similarly, until very recent times, when infant marriages prevailed in the Parsee community, it was the custom to put the *Súdréh* and *Kústí* on the persons of the marrying children while the *Ashirwád* ceremony was being performed, and then afterwards to take them off and to substitute the usual children's frocks in their place. If the man was a Greek and the bride a Parsee, the offspring of the union followed the status of the father and became Greek, as they would, under the circumstances, even in our days. *Vice versa*, if the man was a Zoroastrian and the mother a Greek lady, their children were brought up in the Zoroastrian faith. But we are not in a position to state how long this state of things lasted after the death of Alexander. I am inclined to believe that these intermarriages continued for about 50 or 60 years only, and that then they altogether ceased, for the Greeks had been fast losing ground in Persia. Among the princes of the blood, no doubt, the custom prevailed down to the end of the Páthian Empire; as witness the historians of the period, who frequently refer to intermarriages between Greek and Parsee princes and princesses. Even in our own days, in spite of religious scruples of the Hindu religion, the ruling Hindu chiefs of India do not hesitate to marry Mahometan princesses of rank and bring up their offspring in the Hindu faith. And we meet with a similar practice among the ruling monarchs of Europe. Princes and Kings are more particular about the nobility of the blood than ordinary men, and thus, by promoting such intermarriages, they consult the political needs and interests of the country far more than their individual and personal inclinations.

Having shown now that it is incorrect to speak of Firdúsi as having introduced Alexander the Great as a Christian, let us digress a little from our main subject and dwell for a while on some other charges levelled against the great poet, which are equally false and groundless. To begin with, it is certain that while the *Sháh-Náméh* was being composed, the Zoroastrians of Persia had still preserved to them at least fourteen of the *Nosks*, that is, the "sacred Scriptures," as mentioned by the learned author of the *Dabistán*, out of which just two or three have now come down to us in an imperfect and garbled state. Hence many of the missing links in the *Avestá* may be supplied from the *Sháh-Náméh* and the *Vedás*, which are to us, as it were, the key to the *Avestá*. For instance, the sisters of King Jamshid are not mentioned at all by name in the *Avestá*, nor in the Pehlevi scriptures now extant, but their names are met with in the *Sháh-Náméh*. Similarly, as Professor Darmesteter has shown, the

account of the Sháh-Náméh regarding the disappearance of the Kaiyánian King Kai Khúsrú in the hail-storm is an exact counterpart of the story of Udisthur in the Máhábhárata and that of Enoch in the Hebrew Bible, for Udisthur and Enoch, like Kai Khúsrú, had both of them mysteriously vanished and had lived for nearly three hundred years after the event.

Again, we read in the *Farwardin Yesht* of a certain holy man, by name *Home-Kharénang*, who, however, is never mentioned in the Pehlevi scriptures. To ascertain his identity, then, we have recourse to the Sháh-Náméh, and the Sháh-Náméh helps us in fixing it with tolerable accuracy. For this *Home-Kharénang* cannot be other than the prophet of whom Firdúsi speaks as having lived in the reign of King Nojer. This passage also has come down to us in a corrupt state owing to the ignorance of the Mahometan copyists, who have substituted Musá (Moses) in some MSS. and "Mobed" in others (*vide* Mohl's Sháh-Náméh). I would propose to read the couplet thus :

*"Kamún nao shavad dar jehán dúwari
Hüm-i-'Abid bar áyad be paigambari,"*

i.e., "A change came over kingship in the world for Home Ábéd (the pious) has been sent as a prophet." It is impossible in these days to come across a MS. of the Sháh-Náméh which is more than five to six hundred years old. Now it was just during this period that the Zoroastrians, being made to go over to Islam by force in such large numbers, lost all knowledge of the history and philosophy of the Magian religion, and partly through neglect and partly through inability they allowed, without an effort, numerous changes and interpolations to be made in the text of the Sháh-Náméh by Mahometan clerks and copyists, who particularly manipulated the proper names by the addition and alteration of Persian orthographical points. Thus we find آتین (Átbin) for آپین (Áptin); ~~خنجست~~ (Khu'njust) for چچست (Chichast); and بناك (Banák), a general of Artábanus V., according to the "*Kár-Náméh Ardeshir*" (the autobiography of Artaxerxes) transformed into تباك (Tabák). Oftentimes even they have played fast and loose with the names of families and sects. We read, for instance, in a certain passage,

*"Koojât án dîlirán-i-Sássáníán
Chî Béhrámián o chî Askánián,"*

i.e., "Where is now the bold band of heroes of the Sássanian, Behrámián, and Askánián (Párthian) dynasties?" Now, as a matter of fact, history knows of no such sect as the Behrámián princes. There was, however, a sect or dynasty called the Bézrángián, which had established its sway in the Province of Persia Proper (Farsistán) and flourished there during the period of the Párthian supremacy. And I venture to suggest that it must be these Bézrángian Princes that Firdúsi must have originally written in his text instead of the traditionally accepted Béhrámiáns, which makes no sense. Poor Firdúsi! How he has been maimed and mutilated by ignorant scribes!

Scholars still differ as to whether the Párthians were of Aryan or Turanian stock. But even if they were Turanians, it does not follow that

they were necessarily non-Zoroastrians. For after the death of Zoroaster several Turanian tribes and sects were admitted into the Zoroastrian creed, as may be clearly inferred from numerous relics and remnants of the Zoroastrian faith, which are met with even up to this day in Túrkeistán. The Pehlevi writers also state that one Goshté Frián, one of the later disciples of Zoroaster was of Turanian and not Aryan origin, and that his ancestors had been admitted to the religion of Hormazd, while Zoroaster was still living. It is also related by Firdúsi that Āspandiár, one of the first disciples of the Prophets, had spread the Zoroastrian religion from the Punjáb up to the very bounds of China. Although we are not in a position to state for certain what happened in Báctria after the reign of Behman (known to Firdúsi as Kai-Ardeshir, or the Kyánian Ardeshir), yet it may be gleaned from the Pehlevi-Zurtost-Náméh that in three hundred years after its establishment the Zoroastrian religion was split up into sects and the Kyánian dynasty came to an end (see Jeevanji Mody's "Avestá-Farhang" (dictionary) p. 91). It appears from the Pehlevi Dinkard (*vide* its English translation, vol. vi., p. 376) that "Among the good kings who are related to Jamshid may be included those who are descended from Iraj, after Faridún: first, those that are from Minochehr—secondly, those that are from the Kayánians, and thirdly those that come from Húáfrit." Hitherto the word Húáfrit in the "*Aban-yast*" was read as a common name by the European *savans*, but the Parsee Dusturs now translate it as a proper name from the above passage of the Dinkard. I think that Oxyartes, the last king of the Bactrians, who was conquered by the Assyrian Ninus somewhere about B.C. 2000 to 1500 B.C. as per Ctesias, belonged to this Húáfrit dynasty (see and compare Max Duncker's "Antiquity," vol. ii., chap. i. and ii.); for it must have reigned there for several centuries as one could easily infer from the above statement of the Pehlevi writer.

Now let us turn from the Avestá to the Vedás. In the Rig-Veda the Prithú (Párthian) and the Parsú (Parsees) are called by the name of "Maghávans"—that is to say, Magians. In those days both these sects were insignificant. They wandered about south of the Himáláyás, and though they could boast of kings and chiefs, they had not yet then settled down permanently in any one place (see "Vedic India," p. 328). When the Indian Aryans in very ancient times had settled down permanently in the Punjáb, they came in contact with these two insignificant tribes round about that quarter, to whom, as said above, we find references made in the Rig-Veda. Both these tribes had subsequently migrated westwards, and had between them been ruling over the world for several centuries. These Prithús and Pársús had, according to the Rig-Veda, fought by the side of Tritsú, in the great "War of the Ten Kings," in which several of their chiefs had fallen, as has been mentioned to us by Vishvámitra, the great Rishi or the Hindu Saint of that hoary antiquity (*vide* "Rig-Veda," vii. 18). Further on we read in the same work that when a Hindu King of the Yadu dynasty attacked the Parsis living in that quarter, the Kanvá Bráhmins offered up prayers to God for the success of their King, and the King having ultimately routed the Parsees, presented the Kanvá Bráhmins

with 300 horses, 10,000 cattle, and many double teams of oxen. Similarly when in virtue of the invocations of the same Bráhmins, a Prithú or Párthian King was able to triumph over his enemy, he made the insignificant gift of two horses and twenty cows only, wherefore he has been held up to ridicule by Vashishtha-Rishi, who sneeringly asks what on earth could at all be expected of a king so tight-fisted and miserly! Another king of the same tribe being equally stingy, the same Rishi taunts and remarks that the Bráhmins have sung the praises of the Brileu Kings because they were so charitable and generous, whereas the *Maghaváns*, that is, the Párthian and Parsee Princes, gave alms out of mere ostentation. Now these *Maghá* or *Maghávans* were Magians, i.e., *Májdíashnúns* or Zoroastrians, and it is clear from the passages of the Rig-Veda above referred to that the Párthians and Parsis of that antique period were of the Magian faith, and their heirs and descendants continued in the faith of their forefathers down to the conquest of Persia by the Moslems. Moreover these passages of the Rig-Veda furnish a strong argument against the correctness of the theory of certain modern European scholars, who want us to believe from the recent Assyrio-Babylonian researches that Cyrus and the other Achemenian Kings before him were not of the Zoroastrian cult or the faith of Hormazd (*vide* "Records of the Past," vol. v., pp. 144-157).

Leaving the Vedas now and turning to the later Yeshts, such as the Gosh, the Farvardin, the Mehr, and the Jamíád, we find that the rivers and mountains mentioned in them are actually to be found at this day in Afghánistán (see the "Academy," 16th May, 1885) and may be easily identified. This leads us to infer that the ancestors of the Parsees, after having left the land of the "Sept-Sindhav" (the Punjáb), as stated in Vëndidád, entered into the provinces now called Afghánistán, continued there for several centuries; then crossed over the mountains of Kurdistán called by the Greeks the mountains of Zagros, and settled down in Armenia about B.C. 1000 to B.C. 1200, as may be seen from the Assyrian Inscriptions, which have lately been deciphered. About that time there had been dwelling in the provinces of Armenia ever since B.C. 1500 a very powerful tribe called the Hittites (the Allarodians of the Greeks), who, as Professor Sayce has recently shown, were neither Semitic nor Turanian. Later on in the reign of King Achimenes, about B.C. 700, the ancestors of the Parsees came and settled down permanently in Farsistan and Elam, which has also been called Ansan or Ehévaz (Susiáná). Thus we are now in a position to understand clearly the real import of the famous boast of Darius in the Behistún Inscriptions, viz., "We have never been conquered from the earliest ages, our race has been reigning and exercising Kingship from the remotest times."

Thus then, from the authority of Ctesias we may say with considerable certainty that this tribe of the Párthians, long before the reign of Cyoxares in Mediá, had migrated westwards, and had established a little kingdom for themselves in the province of Párthiá. And we may also infer with equal certainty on the authority of the passage in the Rig-Veda, referred to above, that the Parsees, during the Achimænian period, having crossed Mount Zagros into Armenia, had thence entered Farsistan and Susiānā,

and had fixed their permanent abode in those quarters. Similarly the Párthians had established themselves in Párthia, and both these offshoots of the same stock had taken with them the Zoroastrian religion into the new provinces in which they respectively settled. Professor Rawlinson's theory then, that this people had been converted to Zoroastrianism for the first time during the period of the Achimænian Kings (*vide* "Párthia," p. 394) can no longer be supported as being based on historical facts and evidences.

We find it recorded in ancient Greek writings that the Párthians used to worship the Sun and Mithra (whom the Parsees call Khorshid and Méhr yazads) as the tutelary deities or angels of their nation; also that they would place images and statues of their ancestors in some conspicuous part of the house, set apart for the purpose, where they used to be worshipped by the members of the family. This charge of idolatry which the Greeks have levelled against this people is altogether baseless and untrue, and may be traced to the ignorance of the Greeks in all matters relating to foreign customs and usages. The Párthians, no doubt, were in the habit of putting up images of their ancestors in their houses, but it was no more idolatry than the modern custom amongst all the civilized nations to adorn their drawing-rooms with portraits, photos, and statues of their deceased friends and ancestors. Similarly it is stated by Moses Chorene, the Armenian historian (whose writings, though not always reliable, furnish us at times a good clue to the missing links of the history of the period), that the Párthians used to recite the Khorshid (Sun) and Méhr (Mithra) Yasts early in the morning, as the Zoroastrians of our days do. He also adds that they placed images of the Sun and Moon in their temples and worshipped them (see his "Armenian History," vol. ii., p. 74). This custom was not prevalent among the earlier Párthians, but came into vogue, as some of the later Greek writers have also stated; during the reigns of the later Párthian Emperors; a fact from which I infer that though originally they must have been the pure worshippers of Hormazd, nevertheless later on they began to forget and held in less reverence the "*Méh-Zend*" portion of the Avesta. This is corroborated by Mobed Hooriyár (and *not* Mohosan Fáni, as has been erroneously supposed so far as being), the real author of the Dabistán, who thus narrates that "during the Ashkánian (*i.e.*, the Párthian) dynasty the people conformed to the '*Kah-Zend*,' but as Ardeshir was obedient to the second Sásán, he in compliance with the *Dasátir* and *Mah-Zend* studiously avoided the destruction of harmless animals: for the *Mah-Zend* is a portion of the *Dasátir*. After him others adopted the *Kah-Zend*. But Nushirván, under the guidance of the contemporary *Azar Sásán*, although conforming to the *Dasátir* and *Mah-Zend*, was during the whole of his life innocent of the crime of slaying harmless animals; his successors, however, followed the precepts of the *Kah-Zend* until the fifth Sásán, having uttered imprecations against the people of Irán, they became the victims of privation and wretchedness" (*vide* Troyer's "Dabistan," vol. i., p. 353 [54]). Thus it is easy to see how and why these people were called "*Porio-dakêshi*" by the Pehlevi writers of the Sássánide epoch. Regarding the images of the Sun and Moon, "they worshipped" as misunderstood by

Moses ; the author of the "Dabistan" explains the matter as follows : "In front of each temple was a large Fire-Temple, so that there were seven in all ; namely, the Kaiwán-Ázar, Hormuz-Ázar, Bahráw-Ázar, Húr-Ázar (Sun), Máh-Ázar (Moon), etc., etc., so that each Fire-Temple was dedicated to one of the seven planets, and in these they burnt the proper perfumes" (see "Dabistan," vol. i., p. 47), as per the usages of the ancient Sipási Sufis of Persia.

Originally the earliest reigning sovereigns of the Párthians, like the Achemænians, venerated the four elements, fire, earth, air and water, as sacred and holy, and invoked Abán-Ardavishúr (Anáhitá) in their prayers. They did not burn their dead, but exposed them to be devoured by vultures and wild animals. The dry bones they then collected and buried them under the earth, or, as it was said, made "*Astodáns*" of them. They had very great respect for their Magian priests, who enthroned and dethroned the Párthian Kings. As they gradually conquered country after country and tribe after tribe, they naturally came more and more in contact with people of different nationalities and different faiths, and thus, no doubt, they became less particular and less dogmatic in matters pertaining to religion. But to argue from this that the whole race had thrown off the Mázdiasnán religion altogether seems to me to be very unfair, even granted that some radical youths of the race may have done so partly through bad society, partly through conviction, and partly through lust of pelf or power. What, for instance, could be more illogical than that because two or three kings of the race of Arsaces in Armenia consciously and purposely allowed the sacred fire in the temples to be extinguished or go off by itself for want of nourishment, that therefore the later kings also had abjured Magism ? I admit that, after the Armenians came into closer contact with the Romans, some of the fast young men of their nobility and even of gentry became a little indifferent as regards religion, but it is to be noted that there were other reasons also for this neglect. And one principal reason may be found in the poverty and impecunious condition of the people. Fire-temples and places of worship cannot be maintained in large numbers in various places without ample funds. And it is a notorious fact that, what with constant wars and feuds and with other causes, the heirs of the original Armenians, who had set up these fire-temples, had not the means nor the resources left them to keep them going, and on this account it is just possible that some of them may have had to be closed or neglected. Such practice is not very uncommon even among the Indian Parsees of our days, through want of funds and feuds among family members, to allow their forefathers' established "fire altars" to be neglected and go off by themselves. But surely it would not follow that the gentry and nobility of this period had lost all hold whatsoever on their forefathers' ancestral religion. Again, Herodian relates (iv. 30) that the later Párthians had so far lost the veneration for fire that they even took to polluting it by burning their dead. Now, in the first place, a casual observer and writer like Herodian ought not to be implicitly believed, when he has not the support or corroboration of any other writer of the period. But even though we might grant for the sake of argument that a few rabid young men did it,

we should certainly hesitate to describe the practice as a universal custom prevalent among the nation at large. Moreover, there is a distinction between "*Núr*" (Divine light or fire) and "*Nár*" (material fire), and the Mazdashnán religion nowhere forbids the extinction of fire, when, for instance, as in the case of a conflagration, it exercises its energy for the destruction of person and property. In the same way, if during the prevalence of plague or any other infectious disease human corpses have, out of sheer necessity, to be burnt for the welfare of the living, it is a pardonable sin, which can be expiated by the *Patet*, or what the Buddhists would call the *Pátimokh*. According to the Zoroastrian religion, just as with Buddhism, the only and all-sufficing saviour of the soul is righteousness and sincere repentance. Again, take one more instance, Agathias states that the priests had lost a good deal of their influence and dignity with the later Párthians. But surely it cannot be fair to infer from this passage, as Canon Rawlinson has hinted (*vide* "Parthia," p. 396), that they had ceased to be Magians. No doubt, in these later times, the Mobeds or priests, for some reason or other, were far from being so cultured and learned as their brethren of former days, and it is very likely that such an ignorant, selfish, and unlearned priesthood could not possibly attract to itself any considerable share of the love and respect of the laity. But it is absurd to believe that on this account all the later Párthians had given up their old ancestral Zoroastrian faith altogether and had taken to idolatry. However, there is some truth in the above statement of Agathius. For the writer of the Dinkard also relates that the Sacred Scriptures about this time, owing to the former ruthless destruction of Alexander, and also, I believe, on account of subsequent neglect and indolence of the later priests, had been so far lost and were so rapidly disappearing that the Párthian King, Vologeses or Násis, actually took it upon himself as an imperative duty to collate and collect together the scattered remnants. This great work thus commenced by the Emperor was ultimately accomplished by Ardeshir Bábegin, by the aid of Touser and other learned priests. Furthermore, Ardeshir subdued the several little kingdoms and principalities that had sprung up in the country, and brought the whole of Persia, as before, under the sway of one man. He also abolished idolatrous customs, and rid the country altogether of the Materialistic philosophy, which he used to call by the name of "Aristotle's poison."

It has not been yet satisfactorily ascertained which Vologeses or Nasis it was who undertook to collect the remnants of the Zoroastrian Scriptures after their destruction by fire by the order of Alexander in his drunken state. There were in all six kings of the name of Vologeses or Narsis, who ruled in Persia, as may be gathered from the inscriptions on the coins of the Párthian period (*vide* Gardner's "Numismata Orientalia," Plate VIII.). I am inclined to believe it must be the second Vologeses, who reigned from A.D. 130 to A.D. 149; quite a century before the advent of Ardeshir. Farjáné-Béhrám, the author of a learned Persian book called the *Sáristán*, refers in the course of his work to a Pehlvi book called the *Námé-Húsh-perā*, written by Buzurj-mihr, the wise minister of Núshirwan, or Chosroes I., surnamed the "Just," and on the authority of this Pehlvi

book, now lost, Fárjáné-Béhrám, the disciple of Dustúr Árzar-Kaiwán, states that "*Narsi bin Gúdarj bin Pallás*" (i.e., Vologeses the son of Gotarzes and the grandson of Phráates) on one occasion saw Zoroaster in a dream, who told him that he had not been a sinner and bade him consequently to be of good cheer (*vide* "Sáristán," pp. 578-80; also Mirzá Ismáíl Khán's "Námé-Farájistán," p. 298). After him "*Narsî Narsi bin Gúdurj*," i.e., Vologeses, the son of Vologeses and the grandson of Gotarzes, came to the Párthian throne and reigned from A.D. 149 to A.D. 191. He also was a wise, pious, and good-natured king, and he continued the work which must have been left unfinished in the brief reign of his father. Professor Rawlinson doubts whether these two kings were father and son ("Parthiá," p. 321), but there is no room for doubt now that the writer of the Sáristán clearly states, on the unimpeachable authority of Buzurj-mihr, whom Gibbon calls "the Senecá of the East," that they were both father and son.

Hamzeh Ispahani, a Mahomedan writer of no mean authority, who flourished about the beginning of the tenth century of the Christian era, distinctly mentions that Ardaván (Artábanús V.), the last of the Parthian princes, and Ardeshir, the founder of the house of Sássán, both belonged to the same religion. (See Darmsteter's "Vendidâd," p. 39). Hamzeh, I think, was the first Persian writer who pointed out to his countrymen the name *Koorsee* for the Persepolitan monuments; Kúraús, as we all now know, was the cuneiform native name of Cyrus the Great. In Persian *Koorsee* also means a chair, for the throne of Darius Hystaspes, which we find engraved on these monuments, has the form and shape of a chair. (See Dastur Peshotan's "Pehlevi Grammar," p. 11.) The above fact goes now to prove to a certain extent that Hamzeh seems to have had some inklings of the Achæmenian princes having once ruled over Persia, unlike all the Persian historians who followed him up to the beginning of the present century.

THE LANDLORD AND POLITICAL TENURES OF GUJARAT AND WESTERN INDIA.—III.

BY B. H. BADEN-POWELL, M.A., C.I.E., F.R.S.E., M.R.A.S.

THE MOSLEM RULE.

THE Muhammadan domination of Gujarāt was exercised by two successive dynasties, each of which adopted a somewhat different policy. There were first the Pathān Sultans of Ahmadābād whose dominion lasted from the time of the assertion of independence by Muzaffar Shāh I. (A.D. 1407)* till the reign of the last feeble sovereign during which the local Nawābs or Governors, quarrelled among themselves and tried to make a partition of the kingdom. Then the interference of the Mughal Emperor Akbar was invoked, and the kingdom was annexed to the Delhi Empire (1583 A.D.). In general it may be said that the control of the Sultans, while it varied in efficiency from reign to reign, never, even in its best days—under Ahmad Shāh I., or Maḥmūd Bigarhā—really succeeded in establishing a thorough or uniform control over the turbulent Rājput and Koli territories; but it destroyed or absorbed many estates; and the disorders of the time tended to the dismemberment and crippling of others. The only permanent success obtained, was in completely subduing a certain area of “Khālsa” territory in the districts adjoining the capital, and in the other centres of provincial rule—Sūrāt and Bharoch. In general, effort was directed to establishing the Muhammadan faith and extirpating idolatry, as well as to rendering the Rājput States tributary, or at least keeping them from openly opposing the central Government. The Moslem historians however are not disinclined to exaggerate the successes of the rulers, both from the religious point of view and from the secular. Thus during the reign of Ahmad Shāh (1412 A.D.) we are assured that steps were taken to make *all* the Hindu chiefs pay tribute, and “to extirpate idolatry”; and as early as 1414, Firishta would have us believe “that the very names of ‘mewās’ (estates of turbulent freebooters)† and ‘grās’ (lands held by Rājput chiefs not paying revenue) were no longer heard in the whole kingdom.” Yet in the very next reign we hear of continued, and often unsuccessful, efforts to reduce the chiefs whose domains lay outside the immediate reach of the Moslem headquarters. Whatever the truth may be, it is evident that the Sultan’s aim was to render tributary and if possible harmless, as many of the states all round as could not be actually absorbed.

But it is to the measures taken within the directly administered territory of the Government that we are most indebted for the origin of the existing state of tenures. The result was in fact threefold. (1) A certain number

* This is the date given by Bayley, p. 84. But for some years previously the Sultan (as Viceroy Zafr-Khān) had exercised really independent authority. It is for this reason that in the *Ayīn-i-Akbarī* (Jarrett ii. 261) the date is given as 1391 A.D.

† A full note on this term will be found some pages further on.

of the old estates simply disappeared, and the villages which had paid revenue to a Rājā or a Thākur now became the (nominal) property of the conquering Sultan and paid revenue to him. (2) Other estates (usually perhaps of less importance) were left with their Rājput (or other) overlords, on their consenting to pay a tribute or revenue-charge in the lump; these were treated as "talukdār" or dependent estate-holders of the kingdom. (3) But another plan was also put in force in many cases; it would have been too much to annex the whole of the estates of the chiefs outright, but the governors insisted on making the greater part of the villages pay revenue direct to the State collector, leaving only "wāntā" lands—certain portions scattered here and there—as the freehold of the former owners. The Sultans, as conquerors, felt themselves fully entitled to "resume" what they pleased: they felt very little compunction about interfering with a possession which after all was just as much a matter of seizure by force as their own.* As lands still exist known as "wāntā" it will be interesting to quote the passage from the *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī*—which is not included in the chapters translated by Sir E. C. Bayley, but is given in the *Rāsmāla*. "The whole of the landed chiefs (Zamīndārs) in the time of Sultan Ahmad of Gujarāt," says the author, "erected the head of rebellion and disturbance. They were however punished and driven from their retreats, and the servants of the king were established in every place. In consequence of their being thus completely dispossessed of their habitations, that band of unbelievers, being hopeless, began to infest the roads and villages with their depredations. Anarchy increased, confusion prevailed, and the decay of cultivation became visible, while the *raiya*ts were distressed. Those whose duty it was to advise, in their foresight put an end to those calamities, and exacted from the 'zamīndār' of every village† security to discontinue opposition. Three parts of the land of each village, under the denomination of 'talpat' were acknowledged as the property of the King, and one portion was given to the landlords under the denomination of 'wāntā' (i.e., divided, a portion) and they were engaged to furnish guards and protection to their own villages." The author goes on to say that the landholders submitted, and engaged to pay the crown a tribute (or "salāmi") from their "wāntā" [i.e., they did not pay the full assessment as on ordinary lands, but a lump sum in token of submission].‡ But some estates even within the circle of the Khālsa, escaped this hardly veiled confiscation. "Some of the landholders . . . were converted to Islam, and entered into agreements for the defence of their own 'tālukā' [observe the name now applied to the chief's domain]; and their possessions were con-

* But the strength of the Rājput claims lay in the prescriptive title. A holding that has endured for generations can hardly be questioned as to its first origin.

† This implies that *all* the villages or groups of holdings of the agricultural classes, had fallen under the overlordship of some chief, grantee, or other superior—which is very likely to be true. Villages of original cultivators, independent of any overlord, Moslem or Rājput, do not seem to have existed.

‡ We shall see afterwards how these wānta lands survived under British rule. The term came also into use among the chiefs themselves. On one occasion we hear of a chief mortgaging his estate but reserving some wānta lands for his own support. On another a Rānā, resuming a service-grant on the death of the holder, leaves "a fourth part" to the widow.

ferred upon them by the imperial court, for the encouragement of the faith, on their consenting to pay the imperial *peshkash*. [I understand this to mean an annual lump sum by way of revenue, larger than the *salāmi*.]” “From other principal Zamindārs” (adds the author) “over whom the hand of conquest did not extend, the levy of a yearly ‘*peshkash*’ was exacted.” To put it shortly, chiefs who were not conquered, *i.e.*, reduced to being landlords under the Sultan, were made to pay a tribute, when it could be got; those who were subdued were either deprived of $\frac{1}{4}$ of their estate (which became Khālśa property) or else were favoured by being regarded as revenue-paying “*tālukdārs*” or landlords without diminution of their land.

Whether this process was imperfectly carried out, or whether the number of estates over which “the hand of conquest” had not prevailed was still very large, it appears that the idea of further resumption was entertained, once and again, by later sovereigns. In the time of one of the last Sultans (1545 A.D.) the minister, consulted as to the advisability of attempting the conquest of Mālwa, dissuaded his master from the plan saying “that he could direct him (rather) to the conquest of a kingdom not less important: he said that a fourth part ‘of Gujarāt’ called *bānt* (*wāntā*) was in the hands of *grāsiya* chiefs; if the Sultan should take possession of it, it would furnish *jāgīr* (grants) enough to maintain 25,000 horse.” The advice was taken . . . *grāsiyas* were ejected from the lands which they held, and officers were appointed to collect the revenue.* Whether this applies to a further diminution of estates already crippled, or to an extension of the system to lands previously untouched, in either case the chief result was to produce general rebellion and discontent; the dispossessed chiefs “went out”—as it was called.† The historian however is ready to report success, and assures us that in the time of Sultan Mahmūd III. (middle of the 16th century), every Rājput was compelled to devote himself to agriculture and live a quiet life. Every man of them was branded on the arms, and if any Rājput or Koli was found without the brand he was put to death.”‡

* Bayley, p. 439 : see also *Rāsmāla*, p. 297.

† Col. Walker (quoted in the *Rāsmāla*, p. 255, *note*) thus describes the procedure of the “*bāhirwatiya*,” or outlawed chief: “The Rājput chief (*Grāsiyā*) thus aggrieved, makes the *raiya*s and his dependents quit their native village, which is suffered to remain waste and uncultivated. The *Grāsiyā* with his brethren retires to some asylum whence he may carry on his depredations with impunity. Being well acquainted with the country . . . the ‘*bāhirwatiya*’ has little to fear from those who are not in the immediate interest of his enemy, and he is, in consequence, enabled to commit very extensive mischief until he may be extirpated, or his principal forced to compromise the dispute. In the hill country of Īdar (in the N.E. of Gujarāt) it is said of such an outlaw that he is ‘*wakhē*’ or ‘in trouble.’” See also some good remarks about the outlaws and their doings in *Bomb. Gazetteer*, viii. 116.

‡ Bayley, p. 439. The confiscation was accompanied by some cruel religious oppression of Hindus (p. 440) which however could only have taken place in the Moslem capital itself. But so much aggrieved were the Hindus in general, that when the Sultan was murdered (p. 445) “the *grāsiyas* made a stone image of Burhān the assassin, which they worshipped, saying, ‘this is our preserver who brought us from death to life; for if that system had continued for one year longer we should have died of hunger and been swept out of existence.’”

Some of the bardic stories about the resistance offered by the Rājput chiefs (not only at this time but throughout the Moslem domination) are not wanting in spirit and are often quite pathetic. Here are one or two examples, taken at random from the Rāsmāla. On one occasion the Thākur of Rājpipla (the capital of some 350 villages) was driven out and went into the jungle: his wife had a string of pearls, and he said: "There is water, truly, in these"—meaning that they would have to get water to drink by selling them. Whereupon the bard exclaims:

"O Shāh! O Sultān!—friend, when you became angry, the great serpent could not support his burden, the earth trembled. You slew the warrior Rājputs . . . on all sides the dust was wetted with blood. O Sultān! from fear of you, blistered were the feet of the Bhūmiyā's Rānīs; they wandered, eating esculent roots: 'apsaras' (nymphs) in form, they tore the pearls from their necks and squeezing them into their husband's mouths, cried, 'You said there was water in these.'"^{*}

The next example belongs to a much later time—in fact this sort of thing occurred from time to time, down to the introduction of British rule. In 1792, Wakhat Singh, Rājā of Pirambh (Gohil State) was at feud with some neighbouring Kāthi chiefs who invoked the aid of the Moslem governor—Jawānmard Khān Bābī.† He advanced against the Rājā with a host of Kāthis, Rohelas, Sindhis and Pathāns.

"As he came on angrily, Wakhatēs like another Indra mounted to oppose the Yavana (Moslems). The kettle-drums sounded, the great drums, too; the peaks of the mountains re-echoed, and the earth-supporting snake began to writhe; the ocean to dash up its spray to the sun. [Pirambh is on the sea-coast.] . . . 'You have come with a good object, Bābī!' He gave him a salutation of cannon-shots; erecting batteries, he threw him into sorrow."

The Moslems are soon discomfited and flee in the night.

"After the Yavana went Āto (Rājā Wakhat Singh). He angrily encamped at Pātana within a *kos* of the enemy's frontier. Exclaiming, 'Hari! Hari!' he pitched his camp. As Devas and Daityas prepared for encounter, so stood the black elephants and the long-maned horses. Five kinds of music sounded: swords lightning-like flashed, ready for the fight; it seemed as if the last day had arrived: tubes (rockets) began to be discharged; the Arab 'bark' (sharp-shooters) advanced shouting *din! din!* . . . 'The Moslem leader soon cries for quarter: 'I swear to you by the Qurān, I will not attack you again; I will give you Rājtilā, Kundalā, and Chītal; the Almighty has given you all the country.' He caused a grant to be written and above it he placed his seal. The Sūbadār of Sorath was left without honour."

On this occasion, as usual, the Hindus were not united; the Moslem had the help of the "Kūmpāwat" chief of Jētpur, as well as a chief of Dāhā and of the Kāthis who had invoked their interference. The Gohil-wād possession remains to this day: the Mahrāthas also were unable to displace them, only making them pay a tribute from time to time. The estate consisted of about 800 villages of which 650 formed the demesne of the Rājā (or Rāwal). The principal subordinate "fiefs" were called Walā, Lāthi and Pālītāna. Walā contained 32 villages, held by the Rāwal's grandson: Pālītāna was a "bēalisi" (42 villages); but many had been mortgaged and others were left waste. Lāthi had only 4 villages left, but

^{*} After 12 years of outlawry this chief recovered his "grās," and his descendants still hold Rājpipla (as a political estate).

† The title of Bābī belonged to some of the great Mughal nobles; there are still some estates held by chiefs whose title is Bābī.

its chief saved the estate from extinction by giving a daughter in marriage to the Gaikwār (Dāmaji) of Baroda.*

But while a state of resistance was more or less chronic among the Rājput chiefs, it must be admitted that the transfer of the government to the stronger hand of the Mughals was productive of improvement at least during the earlier reigns. Akbar made some efforts towards conciliating the chiefs; and, following the plan adopted in Upper India, gave titles and rank as "mansabdār"—with a certain number of cavalry under each; a "mansab" of 1,000 horse, of 2,000, and so on; and territorial revenues were assigned for their support in proportion. It seems also that the better disposed chiefs were really glad of the rest which a strong government could give, and that they paid a moderate tribute with at least complacency, when their possessions were secured to them.† It will be interesting to glance at the administrative divisions of the province made under Akbar; as these show how far the country was really subdued, and how much of it was still held by chiefs who though called "tālukdār" and made tributary, might, on a favourable opportunity, recover independence.

We find that the Emperor cut off and restored to other governments certain districts that had become attached to Gujarāt; and that then there remained 16 "sirkār" or great districts—Dangarpur, Banswāra, Sirohi, Sūnth, Godhrā, Chāmpāner, Nandod (Rājpipla), Baroda, Ahmadābād, Pattan, Sorath, Kaçch, Nāunagar, Bharoch, Sūrāt, and Rāmānagar. The first four are in the Mahikānthā or beyond it, and were not really subject to the Empire. Nor confessedly was Kaçch. Godhrā and Sorath were also both excluded from the revenue survey, which means that they were not under State control except of course Nāunagar, the Nawāb of which had replaced the old Rā of Jūnagarh. Of Sorath we are told‡ that it contained nine subdivisions. One, by the way, was still thickly covered with forest§; this and Somnāth-Patan were held by Gahlot landholders. A third division contained the hill of Śatrunjaya "venerated by the Jains" and it belonged to the Gohil whose "Zamindar" commanded 2,000 horse and 4,000 foot. The fourth division belonged to Vālā chiefs, and so on; mention being made of the clans Vādhel, Vājā, Jetwā, Bāghelā, and Jhareja (in Kaçch Bhūj). The Jhālāwād was nominally part of the "Sirkār

* The Hill chiefs especially gave much trouble; the celebrated fort of Chitūr in particular was at last stormed; and there were continued troubles with Udaipur (Mewār) beyond the Gujarāt hills. Fifty-two Rājās, say the bards, had perished, and the Rānās in their trouble lay at nights on coverlets spread on the ground, and neither slept in their beds nor shaved their hair; and if perchance they broke their fast, had nothing better to satisfy their hunger than some pulse parched in an earthen pot. A memorial of this was long kept up at Udaipur, and "baked pulse" was daily laid on the Rānā's plate, and a coverlet spread on the floor below the bed (Rāsmāla, p. 307).

† I do not mean to imply that in all cases the Rājput chiefs were let alone, but they were often better treated. We have still several instances of "wānta" resurrections under the Mughals.

‡ *Ayīn-i-Akbari* (Jarrett) ii. 240 ff.

§ It is curious to note also that in the hill country east of Kaira and the fortress of Chāmpāner, there were in Akbar's time "many wild elephants." The "*Ayīn*" gives some further account of the country to the N.E. of Gujarāt.

Ahmadābād": it then contained 1,200 villages in a tract of some 70 × 40 *kos* in extent: I say "nominally," because we are informed that 49 of the "mahāl," or revenue subdivisions in the *sirkār* remained unmeasured, a sure sign that the "Zamindārs" paid only a precarious tribute, and were not subject to much interference. The strength of the Moslem rule lay in the immediate vicinity of Ahmadābād, which was in fact a vast camp or cantonment with important outlying centres at Bharoch, Sūrāt and Cambay—each of which had its own Nawāb.* To keep order in the country generally, some 252 "thānā" or military posts were maintained including 203 fortified places: each was under charge of a "thānādār" or a "faujdār."† Sir E. Clive Bayley remarks that in the "palmy days of the Mughal rule . . . very few chiefs retained any grās allowances or hereditary status." I venture to think this is too broadly stated; but grās is here probably used to mean, not the ancestral estate or family grant, but a cash allowance: and doubtless the theory was that the "mansab" or the "tālukdāri" were purely matters of life-grant. Nevertheless, the Rājput chiefs *did* in fact retain to a considerable extent their estates (or some part of them) or they would not exist as they do to this day. And when we look down the list of "mahāls" even before the Mughal rule, we see how many consisted of groups of 12, 24, 42 or 84 villages—sure sign that here we have the usual Rājput chief's "chaurassi," "chaubīsi," etc. And however much the imperial theory may have represented these to be held on a life-tenure the chiefs and the people recognised them as hereditary possessions. It also, in later times, became the custom to farm the revenue of Government villages; so that the chiefs were often able to undertake the contract of those in the neighbourhood of their estates and virtually to re-annex them. Many families or clans did in fact (especially in the districts beyond the Khālsa) recover much of their ancient importance.

Just as the Moslem rule gave rise to the "wāntā" lands—the origin of which we have described, but which in the course of time came to be regarded as portions of land granted *revenue-free*, or on easy terms, so we have a few special tenures of the landlord character (Mālīki and Kasbātī), which directly originated in Moslem grants; but these latter can best be described when we speak of tenures surviving under British rule; they are interesting, but neither extensive nor important. The grandees of the Moslem Court have here and there handed on to descendants portions of territory once held in Jāgīr, and may be recognised among the "Political" tenures of the region.‡ But the Moslem rule did not introduce any novelty in the theory of land-holding—unless we regard the theory of the State ownership of all the "Government" or "unalienated" villages as such a novelty. They however must have created a vast number of petty "inām" or holdings exempt from revenue, though it is not probable that any very

* See Bayley, p. 97. The direct reference there is to the state of things under the Sultāns; but it continued the same afterwards.

† The term thānā has come down to our own times as the common expression for a police post: and the Deputy Inspector of Police is still called "thānādār."

‡ E.g., the Political Estate held by the Bābī of Bālāsīnūr; the Nawāb of Junāgadh, etc.

large number survived for long. It is mentioned, for instance, that under one of the Sultāns (Muzaffar III.) the minister Dargā Khān made free-grants so liberally there was hardly a darvesh (recluse) without one.*

THE MAHRĀTHĀ PERIOD.

The MAHRĀTHĀ rule affected the general scheme of tenures still less than the Moslem. Except that chiefs seized the lands forming the present State of Baroda—in addition to the districts already made Khālsa by their predecessors. Their chief attention was directed to enforcing tribute from all classes of “Zamīndārs” rather than to depriving them. The Mahrāthas seem to have cared little for landed possessions; we rarely find them seizing groups of villages and forming estates like the Rājput chiefs. They were a democratic race, and either for that reason or because of the greater security, they gladly seized *village* titles (with the emoluments) and became pātel and pandyās or kulkarnis (accountants), or even annexed the petty freeholds attached to minor village functions. The lower classes of land-owners, says Sir J. Malcolm,† “saw in the Mahrāthas beings of their own order, who, though they had risen to power and dominion, continued to preserve the strongest attachment to the manners and usages of those village communities in which they were born; . . . the principal leaders of the conquerors appeared to place more value in their names of Pātel, or Patwāri, which they derived from being hereditary officers of some petty village in their native country than in all the high-sounding titles they could attain.” And in Berār, Sir A. Lyall notes how a great chief preferred village emoluments to anything else. “In Upper India,” he says, speaking of a local chief, “he would have been a great Zamīndār or Talukdār; in the Dakhan, he was content to be the deshmuḥ (chief officer) of a dozen *parganas*, the pātel of fifty villages, and in his own town (of Sindkher) the pluralist holder of all the grants (of free land) attached to menial services—washing, shaving, sweeping,” etc.‡

The Mahrātha Government was however bent on extracting the largest possible revenue from the lands, and this must have had its effect in causing estates to be dismembered and to change hands. The Mahrāthās began to attack Gujarāt early in the eighteenth century. They gained their opportunity (as usual in Indian history) through the dissensions of the Moslem leaders; one or other party invited Mahrātha aid—to its own ultimate destruction. After the battle of Bālāpur in 1730, the ‘Gaikwār’ became the leading chief in the north. The final success of the confederacy dates from the fall of Ahmadābād in 1755. Their procedure was always to

* This would affect small holdings rather than create any larger estate. So also we are told that in Sultān Ahmad’s time it was the practice to pay soldiers half in cash and half in jāgīr; i.e., assigning certain lands from the holders of which they were to receive the remainder (out of the State dues). But this, besides giving certain customary perquisites, milk, firewood, etc., would also be sure to end in the soldiers getting hold of fields as occupants; indeed the plan was recommended on the ground that the soldiery when off duty would be encouraged “to take to agriculture and build houses.” (See Bayley, p. 112 and compare p. 167.)

† Memoirs of Central India (reprint), vol. i., pp. 59, 60.

‡ Berār Gazetteer (1870), p. 101.

begin by exacting a "chauth" or fourth of the revenue of this or that tract. Nor was a regular administration ever organized except in the "Khālśa" districts of Gujarāt; they roughly divided the province into what they called the "raiyaṭi" (or rāṣṭi) country; where the villages were peaceful and paid revenue fairly regularly, and the "mewāsi"*—or country held by turbulent chiefs—especially near the frontiers, over which they had no hold, and which could only be made to pay tribute now and again by the process known as "mulk-gīri," or "country-seizing." A small force was sent out to compel the various chiefs to pay, and it was a point of honour to resist as long as possible. "A 'mulk-gīri' force," says Mr. K. Forbes, "seldom possessed power to subjugate a country or to reduce its fortresses . . . it carried on its operations therefore against the open towns and villages; selecting the season of harvest for its period of action with a view not only of compelling the more speedy acquiescence of the chieftain, but also of securing the more ready means of subsistence for the troops." The frightful destruction that would result can only be imagined; "it frequently happened that every acre of (a chief's) land was left bare, and every hamlet in his territory reduced to a heap of smouldering ruins," before the recusants would give way. In making a settlement, ready money was seldom obtained, but securities from bankers, with whom all the villages had dealings, were preferable, as they were exchanged for bills payable in any part of India.

The Mahrāthas found their opportunity both against the Moslem commanders, and by appearing in aid of the Rājput chiefs, either in their wars one against another, or against the Moslem. With whatever side they joined, they did not fail to gain an advantage for themselves, if it was no more than securing a share in the local revenues in the form of "chauth." Here is a specimen of a bard's version of the unsuccessful attack of the northern Mahrāthā chiefs against a local Rājā as well as the Moslem forces. The head of the confederacy at Sattāra is supposed to be addressing (at Court) the commanders of the northern (Gujarāt) expeditionary force:

"If you can conquer Sorath I will give it you; wherever there are cities I will assign you jāgīrs. He gave them crowns and dresses of honour, and the army set off imme-

* As this term "mewāsi" occurs frequently in Gujarāt history, it may be interesting to say something about it. It is sometimes written "mawāsi" (e.g., in Bayley's History of Gujarāt), and also mehwāsi. Phonetic writers give it mehwasse, mowassi, etc. Wilson's *Glossary* writes it in Gujarāṭi letters as mēwās. (A note on the subject is also contained in *Bo. Gaz.* iii., 81.) Elphinstone considered that the adjective form was merely used to mean "refractory or turbulent," and the Rājput chiefs were called "grāsiyā," and the ruder Koli landowners "mewāsi." That is practically true no doubt; but it does not explain the word. Sometimes it is said that "mewās" means a "hill-fort," or "unsettled country." It is also traced to Mahi-vās=dweller in the country around the headwaters of the River Mahi, a rough hilly district. But Elliot's History (vol. ii., 362, note) is referred to as showing the use of the word by a Moslem historian (circa 1250 A.D.) as applied to the jungle country between the Jamnā and the Ganges; the derivation, therefore, from "Mahi" cannot be accepted. Another explanation derives it from mesa-vāsa or sheep country (mesa in Sanskrit=ram cf. mendhā Hindi). As such it is opposed to "manuśya-vāsa," or the abode of men. But it is not stated that any such terms were actually in local, or in literary, use. Wilson's reference to a tribe called "Mewās" is quite without any foundation. Perhaps he was thinking of Forbes' *Oriental Memoirs* where the "Gracia" and such-like are spoken of along with Bhils as if they were tribes.

diately. . . .” The Moslems are defeated, but a Gohil Rājā of Sihūr (near Bhāonagar) threatens opposition. Then the landholders began to say to the Mahrātha commander (named Kantāji), “You are our lords; to you every village will pay a tribute (salāmi) . . . but if you subdue Rājā Bhāwo you will obtain a reward at Sattāra. Bhāwo caused us much annoyance . . . in many places he has seized forts.” Kantāji then sends a Brahman with a peremptory message to the Rājā. “Give up Sihūr or the oath of Sambu (Sivā) to you.”* The Rājā would not listen. “Show me your back,” he said to the Brahman, “lest I incur the sin of slaying you.” Then follows the usual description of an attack; rockets (kokbān) fly and swivel guns are discharged; the fort remains untaken. The (Mahrātha) Diwān said, “Why are you vexing yourselves? Little is left either of our ammunition or our army. Listen to my advice,” etc. The Mahrāthas raise the siege, but Kantāji dies on the return journey, “he did not go to his Rājā; he went to the house of Yamā.” Another year came round, and the Sahu (Mahrātha King) summoned his chiefs (Rāwat). “Have Kantāji and Pilāji been defeated,” he asks, “that they have not returned?” The Rāwats answered, “He who goes to Java may perhaps return and bring back as much wealth as may support his children’s children; but he who goes to fight with Rājā Bhāwo never returns.”

Sometimes the Mahrāthas find their opportunity in the dissensions of the Hindus. Abhé Singh, chief of Dāntā, is at feud with his neighbours and with his own vassals (pattāwat), and he calls in Mahrātha aid. Payment of “chauth” is promised, and for a time all goes well. But the Mahrātha leader soon begins to *build a fort*, and in so doing a quarrel arises about seizing some bamboos. “Then the eyes of the Rājputs were split . . . when the Mahrātha soldiers began jabbering their *ikram-tikram*, ordering people here and there.”†

Whenever the Gaikwār got hold of villages for his own, he did not openly raise the revenue previously established, but added “cesses” (bābtī) and especially a levy which was called “ghās-dāna,” literally grass and grain for the chief’s horses.

But though there was not much ostensible alteration of the Rājput chief’s estates (except what the Barodā Gaikwār seized as his own) the continual fighting and the pressure of Moslem and Mahrātha forces, as well as internal feuds and quarrels, impoverished the country and must have dismembered many large estates into a number of smaller properties. Speaking of the Jhālāwār country, Col. Walker (at the beginning of the century) reported that “the cultivator went armed to the scene of his labours, and in every village a tall tree or other elevated situation—the *Gazetteer* tells of stone towers also—was employed as a watch-tower from which a sentinel gave instant notice of the approach of the much-dreaded predatory horse.” In Kāthiāwār there were found to be many Rājput landlords, and a few communities of Mussulmāns and some Kāthi. The village system was so broken down by the dominance of petty lordships that the writer of the *Gazetteer* doubts whether it ever existed.‡

* Rāsmāla, p. 417. This is a form of saying that there must be submission or a combat à l’outrance.

† This shows that whatever the feelings of the agricultural population, the Rājput chiefs and followers hated the Mahrāthas. The allusion is to the Mahrātha dialect, which abounds in alliterative reduplications.

‡ *Bo. Gaz.* viii, p. 3, but cf. p. 171. It is quite clear that every village has a pātel and staff of artisans. But all villages are under some overlord, either the principal chief, or some grantee, who if resident substituted his own managing authority for that of the original system.

It is curious to notice that history here repeats itself as elsewhere, and we have instances of the "commendation" by which a weaker landowner puts his estate under the protection of a stronger neighbour (ending in absorption). The principal estate holder is called "grāsiyā," and the one who commends his land is the "mūl-grāsiya." Among the local chiefs partition seems to have become universal, and every member of the "bhāiād" or clan had his share of land — called "kapāl-grās" (skull-share), as if the right to it was written on a son's skull at his birth.

Such was the state of confusion, of subdivision, and of partial loss of lands, which resulted from the Moslem and Mahrātha conquests. Uncertainty of title and a great multiplication of petty estates all assuming independence, were the necessary fruits of such disorder. It may be mentioned at once, that in 1807 Col. Walker (Resident at the Court of Barodā) was deputed to settle the various claims to possession, as well as to fix the tribute that each estate was to pay to Baroda, or the British Crown, as the case might be. It was wisely determined that actual possession was the only practicable basis of settlement under such a condition of things. It was not however till 1822 that regular Political control was assumed; and not till 1873 that a Court of Assessors, called the Rājās-thānik (Landlords' Court) was established, as a final resort. Up to 1882 it had done a good work in settling rights both of the overlords and of the subordinate landowners.

THE POLITICAL AGENCIES AND THEIR CHIEFSHIPS.

As the remainder of our survey of landlord tenures will principally be confined to the British districts (Ahmadābād, Kaira, etc., Bharoch and Sūrāt) this will be a convenient opportunity briefly to review the condition of the "Political Estates"—those of chiefs and chiefs' families, which are outside British territory and not subject to the British land-revenue law, but under the control of the Political Agencies. I pass by entirely the independent state of Barodā; and of the State of Kacch I will only mention that the country was gradually appropriated by the "Jām" chiefs of the Jharejā tribe from Sindh, who are "Yādava" by descent. In 1537 the whole dominion was divided between two chiefs; internal troubles drove one of the two branches, somewhat later, to establish themselves in Kāthiāwār, where we find that the states of Goṇḍal, Morvi, Dhrol (and others, are held by Jharejā chiefs. And this brings us to the Political Agency of KĀTHIĀWĀR.

Though the Mahrāthas gave the peninsula of Sorath this name, it was from the trouble they had with the Kāthi immigrants rather than from the number or rank of the tribe. Kāthi only numbered about 30,000 (in 1881). The divisions (prānt) are Sorath, Hālār, Gohilwār, and Jhālāwār.

JHĀLĀWĀR contains estates of Jhālā chiefs (Dhrāṅgadṛā and others), of Jhanjuwāra and (mixed caste) Rājput-Kolis. There is also (on the shores of the Ran) a Mussulmān colony under chiefs called the "Maliks" or Tālukdārs of Bajāna.

HĀLĀR takes its name from the local conquest of a Jharejā "Jām" named Hālā. The ancient estate of Okhamāṇḍal now belongs to Baroda.

SORATH.—The Moslem conquest left its mark in the overthrow of the ancient state of Junāgarh, and the conversion of the subdued Rāv to the Mussulman faith, when he became "Nawāb." The Kodinār portion was annexed by Baroda, and the island of Diū—once so celebrated in Gohil history—fell to the Portuguese.

GOHILWĀR.—This tract is still largely held by chiefs of the Gohil clan, but the Goghā subdivision has come under British rule, and Dāmnaḡar (from the Lāthi chiefship) was transferred to Baroda. It is curious to notice here one or two instances (and they are rare) in which "desāis" or land-officials (of the Kunbi or agricultural caste) have become landlords; it would not have happened but that the districts were somewhat distant from the sphere of direct Mahrāṭha control. The estates are Paṭḡi, Vasāwad, etc.

Putting aside the British and Baroda possessions, the whole Agency contains 193 estates of local chiefs and land-owners. The "proprietors" vary from being lords of important estates like that of the Jām of Nāunagar to being "the holders of a fraction of a village, little more than a peasant, who is often hard pressed to furnish his share of the tribute."*

I am not concerned with the political status or the amount of governing power that each state possesses; in practice it must necessarily vary from a defined degree of authority, to none at all, the local administration of police, justice, etc., being managed by the Political officers. There are seven recognised classes of chiefs, and the powers of each were defined in 1863.† Some chiefs administer the territory directly; others act as local magistrates while the State jurisdiction is under the Political control. An Appendix to vol. viii. (*Bombay Gazetteer*) gives a curious list of the estates, the caste or clan of the holder and the tribute payable (whether to the British Crown, or one of the greater native states). The table also shows whether primogeniture prevails or at least the modified custom of giving a larger share to the eldest (locally called "mohotap"). Some 36 estates (mostly, but not all, of the first three or four classes) are governed by primogeniture; but 149 have either equal division, on the larger-share custom (these not being distinguished). The chief is, *de facto* at any rate, full owner of his own "darbārī" lands, and has a paramount title over the lands of his vassals and cadet-members. The immediate ownership of the grās holders (vassals, cadets, etc.) is so far restricted that they cannot alienate their lands without the superior's permission. They (and the cultivators of their home farms) are not liable to the demand for unpaid labour (veth).

But there are also many lands held under the chiefs more or less free of revenue, which are not held in ownership, and are mere assignments; such are the service-lands of the village officers, watchmen and servants, and those held locally by certain tribes, either on condition of quiet behaviour, or as a reward for service in a local militia (tribes of Mer, Mahiā, Miyānā, etc., are so dealt with). These sometimes pay a "hearth tax" (chūlā-vero)

* *Bo. Gaz.* viii., p. 6. The whole estate has to pay a lump sum by way of tribute; and the co-sharers divide the responsibility according to their ancestral (fractional) share in the estate.

† The matter may be studied in *Bo. Gaz.* viii. p. 309 ff and p. 318 *note*.

or a small rate *per* plough (*sānhi-vero*) if they cultivate; or a quit-rent (*sukhdi*) in acknowledgment of the chief's superior ownership. Many lands are alienated for life, for the purpose of subsistence grants, to "jivāidārs"—mostly widows and other female relations. Such landowners have no jurisdiction of any kind on these lands, and cannot alienate. It is hardly necessary to add that there are many religious and charitable grantees who however are confined to realizing the revenue of the fields or villages assigned to them.

Subordinate landholders are usually liable to pay a fee on the occasion of the accession of a new chief, and so on occasions of death or marriage in the chief's family.

From the villagers, revenue is usually taken in kind (*vaje*) supplemented by certain money rates, calculated by area, or at so much "a plough." As usual there are various "bābti" or extra cesses levied on various pretences.*

The hilly country to the N.E. of Gujarāt and round to near the mouth of the Narbada valley is comprised in the Agencies of PAHLANPUR, MAHĪ KĀNTHĀ and REWAKĀNTHA.†

Of MAHĪ KĀNTHĀ, it may be said, as Īdar has so often been mentioned, that nearly half the Agency belongs to this State. In all there are 52 States of which only 11 besides Īdar are of any importance. As showing how far the Moslem conquest affected these remoter districts of the Gujarāt Province, it is interesting to notice that only 4·3 p.c. of the population are Muhammadans. The Mahrāthā rule, on the other hand, enabled a considerable number of Kunbi cultivators to settle: this caste represents a total nearly double that of Brahmans and Rājputs together. A large number of the (original) Koli and Bhil tribes have settled as labourers.

* In particular, when any extraordinary expense falls on the "talukdār," he exacts a double rate for one or more years (*dhubūk-vero*); *dhubūk* means "jump" or sudden increase. It is also called *dhumpā*—"a slap in the face."

† I take it that the word is *kānthā* (H.) "near or in the vicinity of," and not (as commonly written) *kāñā*, meaning a spur or point.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting of the East India Association, held at the Westminster Town Hall, on Friday, February 24, 1899, a paper was read by Lieut.-Col. R. C. Temple,* C.I.E. (Chief Commissioner, Andamans and Nicobars), on "The Development of Currency in the Far East," the Rt. Hon. Lord Reay, G.C.S.I., LL.D., in the chair. The following, amongst others, were present: Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I.; Sir William Robinson, G.C.M.G.; Sir M. M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., M.P.; Sir G. S. V. Fitzgerald, K.C.I.E.; Sir Charles Roe; Mr. T. H. Thornton, C.S.I.; Col. T. A. Le Mesurier; Col. and Mrs. C. Pollock; Mrs. Temple; Mrs. Irving; Miss Fox; Mrs. and Miss Arathoon; Mrs. F. Aublet; Mr. Herbert Baynes; Mrs. Bode, PH.D., M.R.A.S.; Mr. A. K. Connell, M.A.; Miss Cozens; Mrs. Cook; Mr. H. R. Cook; Mr. Ernest A. Elliott; Miss Fitzgerald; Miss Gawthrop; Mrs. and Miss Gibbons; Mr. Matthew Macfie; Mr. J. B. Pennington; Mr. C. Powell; Mr. Lesley Probyn; Mr. E. J. Rapson; Mr. A. Rogers; Miss Sperati; Mr. John Hill Twig; Mr. P. M. Tait, F.R.G.S.; Mr. H. B. H. Turner; Mr. J. D. White; and Mr. C. W. Arathoon (Hon. Sec.).

The CHAIRMAN said that he had much pleasure in inviting them to listen to Col. Temple, the distinguished son of a distinguished father. As he would have to leave after the delivery of the lecture to attend the House of Lords, he would state before the lecture was delivered that it was one of the most erudite the Association had ever been favoured with, that it had compressed in a lucid manner in a few pages a great number of most interesting and suggestive facts which would, no doubt, give rise to much discussion among experts. Col. Temple had given the Association the fruits of many years of research in a field which required all the ingenuity of which the paper gave striking evidence.

The paper was read.

Sir Lepel Griffin took the chair.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN: This is a most interesting paper, and though the depths into which it has taken us have, I dare say, somewhat alarmed some of our hearers, they must recognise the great weight and authority which attaches to the utterances of the lecturer, whose name is well known to all those associated with studies of this kind. I am absolutely incompetent to express any opinion on the paper, and I would ask one or two experts present to make some observations. I notice one of the most distinguished experts in this particular branch of learning in England, Mr. Rapson of the British Museum, and I also see Mr. Lesley Probyn, who is a great financial authority, and others.

MR. RAPSON: Col. Temple has given us a most admirable outline of a very difficult and intricate subject. For many months past learned papers of his have been coming out in the *Indian Antiquary* on the currency and coinage of Burmah. I am ashamed to say I have almost

* For Col. Temple's paper, see p. 299.

had to give them up in despair. They have led me into countries and into languages and statistics of which I had no notion. I think the great value of his lecture is that it affords us an admirable clue through this vast maze. For the future I shall tackle these tables with something like a hope of getting a glimpse of daylight. The points of interest which have been suggested are innumerable, but I may call your attention to one, and that I think the most interesting of the points raised to-day. Col. Temple says the details of the popular scale in India are traceable to the old Greek scales. Now, if this can be proved, it really would be most interesting, but I am not quite sure whether it can be proved. I hope that Col. Temple will work this point out in the admirably patient and thorough way in which he has worked out all his other problems. I will lay before you the matter as far as I can see it. The oldest coinage that we know in India, the square silver coinage, known as "punch marked," follows a system which I suppose to be what Col. Temple calls his popular scale. The coins weigh 32 ratīs—that is to say, reckoning the ratī at about $1\frac{3}{4}$ grains, about 56 grains. That applies to the square coinage in early times, and also to an isolated coinage system, that of a King named Sophytes, who was actually reigning over a district on the banks of the Acesines when Alexander invaded India. After this comes the invasion of the Greeks in the Kabul Valley and the north of the Punjab. While the Greeks remained north of the Hindu Kush, they struck coins according to the Attic system of weights; but directly they got into India there arose a sort of contest between two systems: their own Attic system, and another system which they found in the Punjab. This latter system I have always thought to be Persian, left in the Punjab as a relic of the Persian domination, which lasted from about 510 B.C. to the conquest of Alexander the Great. It seems to me that the Greeks, instead of bringing in a system to India, adopted a system which they already found there. This system went on until the invasion of the Kushanas, a Scythic tribe who seem to have taken the Roman coinage as a model for the weight and form of their own. Their gold coins, like the Roman aureus, weigh 124 grains. This standard seems to be used in the later Indo-Scythic coinages, and to be adopted by the Gupta dynasty, which rose to power in 319 A.D. Suddenly in the reign of Skanda Gupta (A.D. 452-480) there is a reversion to the old system. A great authority, Mr. Vincent Smith, has supposed this to be a reversion to a standard of 100 ratīs, which would give a weight much too large for the coins which we have. I think Col. Temple's idea is much more probable: that it was a reversion to the old popular system of 96 ratīs, which will give a result of about 168 grains. This, though still too heavy, is rather more in accordance with the actual specimens which we possess. From that time a system based on the ratī seems to have persisted until the Muhammadan Conquest, and to have been adopted from the Muhammadans by the British. That is the only point that I think I can call attention to at present. If Col. Temple can work that out and prove that the old popular system was in any way indebted to the Greeks, it will really be a most interesting piece of information.

LIEUT.-COL. TEMPLE: I cannot but regret that my lecture has been too deep for the audience to attempt to tackle it, because I did hope that several of them would have criticised more or less severely what I have stated. My object has been to gather together the very difficult and obscure threads of my subject in such a way as to give a general view of it. It seems to me that if we are going to understand anything of what we perceive at the present time, the first thing to be done is to gather together all the details of what happened at any past time which we can get at, however deep and difficult they may be, and produce those details in print, so as to be able to study them. That is what I have been doing in the *Indian Antiquary*. I have month after month brought together all the details I could find, so that they might form a basis for any arguments that might be directed on this study hereafter; and having thus created the data, as it were, I have to-day endeavoured to bring these very difficult details into something like a general view, so as to enable others, who may like to take up the subject, to understand how the Far Eastern currency of modern days has come to be what it is: that they might have something definite to go upon, and not be so much in the dark as I found myself to be when I first tackled this question about fifteen years ago.

Mr. Rapson has said that it would be a very valuable thing to prove that the Indian popular scale was really derived from the Greek scale. This evening, of course, I am not prepared to attempt to prove such a difficult thing as that; but speaking without book, I am pretty nearly certain that there is a very strong reference to it in the Sanskrit work I have already quoted, the *Lilāvati*, which was a mathematical treatise, basing its illustrations on the currency and coinage of the day, in order to teach mathematics and simple arithmetic to the youth in India about a thousand years ago. The scale I have shown on the diagrams as the Indian popular scale is the Muhammadan form, not the form in the *Lilāvati*, which is the Hindu form. I did this because the Muhammadan form was the real popular scale on which the modern Indian scales are based. But if anyone will look at the details of this particular scale in the Muhammadan form, and then in the form given in the *Lilāvati*, he will find that one of the terms is called a *dramma*. There so many of whatever represented the *Abrus* seed went to the *dramma*, and so many *dramma* went to some other term corresponding to the *tôlâ*. *Dramma*, as a Sanskrit word, must, I think, obviously be taken for a form of the Greek *drachma*. If that is the case, then there is one very strong indication, at any rate, of what the Hindus at that time and the Sanskritists thought to be the origin of at least one of the weights in their popular scale, and that creates a convincing reference to Greek origin. I may also say that Edward Thomas, who, as everybody knows, was a great authority on these questions, states the Greek origin of the popular scale as a matter of fact. Whether it is proved to be so in any of his works directly I cannot now say; but I quite agree that if we can show that the Indian popular scale was based in any way on the Greek scale, and was also connected with the ancient Chinese scale, then we have got into a very interesting set of studies, because they will all tend to show what has been tried to be proved on other grounds

altogether—that the Indian, Chinese, and European civilizations all date back to the days of the Assyrians and the times of Nineveh and Babylon. Of course, if we can show that the coinage, as we have it now, is traceable in all these cases to a Greek origin, we shall have shown a great deal.

Mr. Rapson also mentioned the scale of 32 rattis. Speaking again without book and under correction, I rather think that the scale of 32 rattis is still in existence in Madras: in fact, I have shown scale after scale in the *Indian Antiquary* based on the 32 rattis, or something very like it. But on going into that particular division of the general scales, I became quite convinced that it is only a part of the great scale of 96 rattis to the tōlā. From what one knows, from anything like a study of such matters, it is quite possible that any particular part of India, or any particular dynasty, may have adopted a scale which was a third of another general scale, as 32 rattis are a third of 96. They have often done that. They have taken a fixed popular amount, and differentiated it for their own little territory.

In conclusion, I can only say that my object this evening was to bring together the details I have studied in all their dryness in the *Indian Antiquary*, into a general view, so as to enable others who may take up this subject to have some definite data for coming, perhaps, to other conclusions than I have arrived at, and usefully criticising my work.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN: It only remains for me, unless any other lady or gentleman present would wish to criticise the remarks of our accomplished lecturer, to ask you to join the Association in proposing a vote of thanks to him for his most interesting paper. It is a matter of some regret to me that with the exception of Mr. Rapson, who is, as I have said, one of the first authorities in Europe on the subject, we have not had present any experts who could with authority discuss the subject. Still, it has been a great advantage to hear his remarks. There is no doubt the inquiry is one of the greatest possible interest. Any connection which can be proved between the ancient civilizations of India and Greece is of interest to all of us, even to those who are not quite competent to follow the technical qualities of a paper such as this. We know the relation between India and Greece. We know that Sanskrit, if not the mother of Greek, is still, as it were, an elder sister, and any proved connection between their systems of currency would be of the greatest possible interest. I would only, as chairman of this Association, apologize for my incapacity to take up this technical subject on the ground that in the ordinary course of events we deal more with the living in India than with the dead; and our studies are generally more of a political, or I may say practical, nature. But nothing can be of greater value or interest than studies such as those in which Col. Temple is so proficient. I well remember when he first started his *Notes and Queries* and joined in the conduct of the *Indian Antiquary* many years ago, when I was Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, and from that day—I think 22 years ago—to this I do not think, speaking with the fullest deliberation, there is any person in India, in either of the services, who has done more for the elucidation and investigation of antiquarian and scientific subjects than our lecturer to-day, and the whole of the scientific world owe

him a very large debt of gratitude. (Hear, hear.) This is one of the reasons why I urged him to come before this Association, and more especially that his honoured father has been so long our active and distinguished President. For all these reasons I am quite sure you will join with me in giving a most hearty vote of thanks to our accomplished lecturer to-day. (Great applause.)

A meeting of the East India Association was held at the Westminster Town Hall on Friday, March 17, 1899, when a paper was read by Sir Charles Roe, late Chief Justice of the Chief Court of the Punjab, on "Tribes and the Land in the Panjab," Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., in the chair. There were present, among others: Major-General J. Miller, Colonel S. C. Atkinson, Colonel J. Davidson, Colonel Hobart, Colonel E. L. Ommañney, Mr. R. N. Cust, LL.D., Captain Golinsky, Surgeon Lieut.-Colonel John Ince, M.D., Major and Mrs. A. G. Robins, Mr. T. Stoker, C.S.I., Mrs. Arathoon, Miss Arathoon, and Miss F. Arathoon, Mrs. Aublet, Miss Dalton, Mr. Danson, Mr. Brij Behari Lal Bisya, Mr. Peslonji Dosobhai, Mr. J. S. Dyason, Miss Gawthrop, Miss Glyn, Mr. J. W. Gardiner, Mrs. H. L. Hope, Miss Jessie Hope, Mr. M. S. Hakim, Mr. C. E. W. Hansons, Mr. F. Hinde, Miss Kinns, Mr. J. W. Neill, Mr. C. G. Master, C.S.I., Mr. C. F. Oldham, Mrs. and Miss Roe, Mr. E. M. Roe, R.N., Mr. Alexander Rogers, Miss Scotland, Mr. A. E. Spender, Mrs. Henry Smith, Mr. and Mrs. Francis Scott, Mr. P. M. Tait, F.R.G.S., Mr. Charlton Thorner (Chinese Customs Service), Mrs. Thorner, Miss L. Towse, Miss Wallace, Mr. J. Wilson, F.R.C.S., Mr. T. O. Wilkinson, Mr. Lionel Wilson, Miss Webster, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Sec.

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the proceedings, said he would not take up time at that moment by doing more than introducing the lecturer, who was well known to many of them, and who was thoroughly competent to speak upon the most interesting question upon which he was about to address them, seeing that he was not only a very distinguished officer in the Land Revenue of the Punjab, but had subsequently become Chief Justice of the Chief Court of the Punjab.

Sir CHARLES ROE then read his paper (see p. 263).

The CHAIRMAN said that he did not propose to take up any large portion of the time of the meeting, but that, as initiating the discussion on the very interesting paper which Sir Charles Roe had read, it was necessary for him to say a few words, he would deal with one or two of the practical points which arose out of the paper. In the first place it was an advantage to have as judges in the highest court of appeal in a province such as the Punjab (and not only in the Punjab, but in every part of India) men who possessed a large and exhaustive training in administrative and land revenue work. That training Sir Charles Roe had in a very great degree. He could not but think, though perhaps he was mistaken, that the tendency which seemed in these days to be increasing, of appointing as judges of the High and Chief Courts of India English barristers, was unlikely to commend itself to sensible men as the best way of meeting the sympathies and prejudices of the people of

India with regard to their customary law. There were no doubt many clever barristers who had served and had lived long in India whose sympathies were entirely in the direction of the paper which had just been read. Among them he might mention Sir William Rattigan who had just returned to England, and who had, he was happy to say, joined their Association, and might some day address them at one of their meetings. Sir Henry Meredyth Plowden was another judge of the High Court who had given the very greatest attention to this subject. He more especially mentioned Sir William Rattigan, as he had, with Sir Charles Roe, devoted himself to the question of customary law. Without wishing to go into details which might be uninteresting, he would only say that the allusion made by Sir Charles Roe in the last paragraph in his paper to the inconveniences which had resulted both in Scotland and Ireland from the ignoring, as it were, the national customary law of those countries had been very well brought out by the most distinguished man who had treated this subject—Sir Henry Maine, in his well-known books, in one of which he specially dealt with the Irish customary law, and showed how at the beginning of the seventeenth century Anglo-Irish lawyers introduced, and made English Common Law the rule for the future in Ireland with regard to the distribution of land, and primogeniture, which was the Common Law of England, was made, and was to-day the Common Law of Ireland. But students of comparative history (of whom Sir Henry Maine was one of the most illustrious) had shown very clearly that at that time the Common Law of England was in opposition to the real customary law of the country. In Ireland the descent of land was governed principally by two customs, one called Gavelkind, and the other Tanistry. The right of Gavelkind was still in existence in the county of Kent, and was nothing more than the custom which Sir Charles Roe had described so lucidly. It was that the whole of the land belonging to a member of a clan was divided, not among his children, but among all the members of the clan, upon his death. That was the law of Ireland, and that was the law which the English lawyers absolutely overruled when they declared English Common Law to be the law of Ireland. The Irish land question had been an unsatisfactory one, and he did not know how far modern troubles had arisen from that particular root, but those who desired to study that most interesting question more deeply would find it in Sir Henry Maine's most instructive books. The question of customary law was one of extreme importance in North-West India. No doubt many would say, and say justly, that it was much more civilized to have laws like that of England, in which the land descended from father to son, than to go back to the tribal system, which was a lower stage of social development. All social evolution proceeded from the simple to the complex, from homogeneity to heterogeneity. But they must remember that they must take facts as they found them, and that they could not govern to the satisfaction of the people a highly civilised community like that of India unless they respected the traditional customary law under which they had been accustomed to live. He saw upon his right a gentleman of the

highest authority in the Punjab, as he was a high authority in England, upon all matters relating to this question, Mr. Cust, and he would be glad if he would do them the honour of making some observations upon the subject.

Mr. CUST stated that as one of the oldest administrators of the Punjab he was glad to be present. He had listened with great admiration to the remarks of Sir Charles Roe. He was glad to hear such a wise paper following upon such a wise administration, and such wise decisions of Sir Charles Roe's as he had heard of. As to what Sir Charles Roe had said of the Punjab, he (the speaker) had only seen darkly in the early days of the Punjab customs having the force of law; but in the Lord Lawrence school to which he belonged they recognised the fact that they had not that minute acquaintance with the customary laws which later generations had acquired. He rejoiced also to hear from Sir Lepel Griffin's remarks how wise and true the policy had been which respected the laws of the people in everything, especially with regard to land tenure. He desired to tender his most hearty thanks to the lecturer, and to say that he agreed with every word he had uttered.

Mr. M. S. HAKIM said that it seemed to him, in the presence of such an intelligent assembly, difficult to say much upon this subject, but coming from the Shahpur district of the Punjab, he would venture to make a few observations upon the subject. Sir Charles Roe had alluded in his earlier remarks to the agricultural indebtedness of the Punjab, and that to his mind was a great evil at the present time. No doubt it had existed from the time of Moses down to the present, but the amount at present charged as interest in India was greater than he had ever known in the annals of history. At the present moment the attention of the British Government at home had been greatly directed to the question of interest; and the fact was that a Bill was before Parliament at the present moment for remedying the present system of money-lending in England. He could see no reason why the Indian Government should not take similar steps to save the poor people in India, who were much poorer than the people of England. He had known interest charged from 40, 50 or 60 to 80 per cent. No doubt the fact was before the minds of the Indian Government, but they did not seem to be prepared to take such steps as were being taken here. He would like to see some such remedy in India. It seemed to him that until that evil was taken away the transfer of land could not be prevented in any way. If the person had no money he had to go to the money-lender, and if the Government was not prepared to take steps to control the money-lender, he could see no remedy.

LIEUT.-COL. SURGEON-MAJOR DR. INCE desired to make a few remarks upon the eloquent language they had just heard, because they were always glad to hear the voice of the Indian population, and considering the difficulty there was from a linguistic point of view, they had every reason to congratulate the last speaker upon the proficient way in which he had addressed them in their own language. The address they had listened to that afternoon dealt with a very important point in the subject of anthropology. It was a bit of the history of human nature, and it brought them down to a

very advanced period. Some had thought that Adam and Eve were the very first people who occupied this globe. It might be so—he did not remember. When they looked through the ages beyond the Bible, beyond the Egyptian period, beyond the Chinese records, they had the positive fact that the human race was not born yesterday. And in considering the subject of the tribes of the Punjab they had to consider a very important point with regard to the management of that important part of the British Empire. He could only wish that Lord George Hamilton and other members of the British Government had been present that afternoon in order that there might have been impressed upon their minds the inappropriateness of putting English clothes upon the people of the Punjab (to use a figure of speech) with regard to their laws. As Sir Lepel Griffin had observed, it was highly probable that the chief source of difficulty with their Irish brothers and sisters was that they had been governed not by their own developed customs and laws, but that there had been inadvisedly imposed upon them laws that were entirely foreign to their country. So had it been with regard to India. The more that principle could be learned, and the more clearly and distinctly it could be seen by those who ruled over the country, the more hope there would be of the continued integrity and security of the Indian Empire as a portion of the British Empire.

MR. T. STOKER, C.S.I., said that he laboured under the disadvantage of not being of the Punjab. Though he had not resided in Heaven, he had lived next door to it, and it had been his lot to see the towers of Delhi, as Moses beheld the promised land, though perhaps from a more remote distance. Tribal government in the Panjab survived in a very much more marked degree than it did in the North-West Provinces, owing to historical reasons, and also, perhaps, to older civilization. The progress of disintegration had been much faster, and it was more difficult to trace in the North-West Provinces that tribal origin. Unfortunately they had not in the North-West Provinces such a record as Sir Charles Roe described in the Punjab; and they were left to grope very much in the dark, and to try to find out the origin of the customs obtaining there by reference to very obscure records. Yet still a common origin and conditions in the two provinces could be traced to a common source. Unfortunately from that source could be deduced a common evil. Sir Charles Roe had alluded to the very serious mischief which had arisen and was arising from the alienation of land. There the people of the North-West Provinces stood on a common field of suffering with their brethren of the Punjab. He had no doubt that in each case alike the mischief was due to their disregarding the conceptions upon which the ownership of land was based in all parts of the country. It was not a question of individuals. He believed that the natives of India could look upon the natives of other countries with great calmness; it was when the interest of tribes, groups and villages was touched that they began to feel the sting. And he thought that in those circumstances they might find not only the origin of the difficulty, but its remedy. The subject was of such extreme importance that he hesitated to speak with anything like dogmatism upon it, but he was disposed to say that the remedy for the disintegration of agrarian society, which was

caused by imprudent alienations of land, might be found in restricting the right of the acquisition of property to those families, classes and tribes which were by immemorial usage land-owning classes. It seemed impossible to restrict in the case of an individual his right to alienate his land. Unfortunately things had been allowed to go too far to take such a drastic measure, but he would suggest that land should not be allowed to be held by the class who could not, and would not, discharge the duties of landowners. He was afraid, speaking on behalf of the North-West Provinces, that he could not claim for them the commendation that had been passed on the beneficial results of the Courts of the Punjab. In the North-West Provinces the attention of the highest tribunals had been rather directed to an administration of laws which were for India of exotic origin. He could point to illustrations, but it would be invidious to specify individuals. He could not help recalling that until not long ago among the precedents which governed the North-West Provinces there was a precedent which emanated from the High Court which prohibited the construction by a native contractor of a village well, and there were innumerable instances of cases in which the construction of wells was prohibited by order of the Civil Court, with the result that the resources of the district remained very imperfectly developed, and people were prevented from the proper source of irrigation which was felt when a time of famine came. He concluded by saying that he had not come prepared to speak upon the subject of the paper. He could claim no acquaintance with the Punjab. But he would commend to everyone concerned in the matter the imperative necessity of taking steps to see that the alienation of land into the money-owning and non-resident class of landlords should be prevented at the earliest possible date.

SIR CHARLES ROE desired, in continuation of the paper he had read, to thank his old friend Sir Lepel Griffin and Mr. Cust for the far too flattering terms in which they expressed their agreement with the substance of what he had said. It was the first time he had had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Cust personally, but his name was a household word to all those engaged in the administration of land revenues in the Punjab. He was really the father of the Punjab revenue system, and if later officers had been able to go further into questions of custom than it was possible for their first officers to do, the reason was that the first officers laid the foundation so well that those who came after them were able to build upon their foundations. As to the other questions that had been raised, as to the agricultural indebtedness, and as to general questions as to the administration of law, there was not time to touch upon them, and moreover they were really foreign to the paper, which dealt solely with customary law, as far as it related to land in the Punjab. The one principle that he had endeavoured to express was applicable not only to judicial decisions, but also to both political and scientific matters, and that was, Get hold of the facts, and be sure of them before you begin to apply theories. If you started with red-hot theories and tried to harmonize your facts in accordance with them, you would only make a great mess of the matter, whether it was judicial, political or scientific.

The CHAIRMAN said he had only now to ask the meeting for a vote of thanks to Sir Charles Roe for his most interesting paper. He was sorry they had not had a longer discussion upon the question, but he thought that all those who thoroughly understood the question, and to a certain extent had made it part of their business in life to understand it, must be to a great extent in agreement with Sir Charles Roe, who had laid down principles without which the Punjab could not be governed properly. He was glad to see Mr. Hakim, from the Shahpur district. From the point of view of an Indian gentleman who came from a place where he saw hereditary land on every hand, tribal land, family land, going into the hands of the money-lender under the present iniquitous laws, the Association was in the warmest sympathy with his views as to the necessity of the Government taking some measure to alter the existing state of things. He could not but think that, although the question was a difficult one, the courage with which the Government was now dealing with the matter, as Mr. Hakim had pointed out, might encourage the somewhat timid Indian Government to take steps in that direction. The Chairman concluded the meeting by proposing a vote of thanks to Sir Charles Roe.

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES AND NEWS.

THE GROWTH OF THE EMPIRE.

SIR ROBERT GIFFEN, the eminent Government statistician, states that the British Empire has a territory of 11,500,000 square miles, and if Egypt and the Soudan be included, 13,000,000. In this vast territory, it is estimated that there is a population of 420,000,000, about one fourth of the whole earth. Of this population, about 50,000,000 are of English speech and race, chiefly in the United Kingdom, British North America, and Australasia, the remainder being composed of races for the most part in India and Africa. The revenue of the different parts at present amounts to £257,653,000, and the imports and exports to £1,375,000,000. The increase of revenue since 1871 is more than 40 per cent., and the increase of imports and exports during the same period is about one third of the present total. The Colonies have increased at a greater rate than the Mother Country, from the increase of population chiefly manifested in Australasia. The possession of such a vast Empire increases the responsibilities of the Imperial Government towards the fortunes and welfare of the human race.

THE NIGER COAST PROTECTORATE.

The regions of the Niger Protectorate are estimated to cover 500,000 square miles, with a population of from 20,000,000 to 35,000,000. The total revenue for the past year—1897-98—amounted to £153,181, and expenditure £121,900. The present aspect of affairs with native chiefs is reported to be “most satisfactory and encouraging.” The transfer of these territories to the Imperial Government is expected to take place not sooner than next month (May).

ZOROASTRIAN COLLEGE, BOMBAY.

Dastur Dārāb Peshotan Sunjāna, a high priest of the Parsees, has been appointed Principal of the Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Zoroastrian College at Bombay in place of his deceased father. He is one of the best Avesta and Pehlevi scholars, and author of several works in ancient Persian languages, among which is a pamphlet entitled “Tansar’s Alleged Pehlevi Letter to the King of Tabaristān from the Standpoint of the late Professor Darmesteter.” The latter, in discussing the origin of the Zoroastrian literature and religion arrived at the conclusion that the Parsee Scriptures did not date back further than the times of Ardeshir Bābakān and Shāpur, and that much of the doctrine was historically derivable from the neoplatonists. The Dastur has attempted to refute these conclusions as to the age of the Zend Avesta, and his “observations on Professor Darmesteter’s theory regarding Tansar’s letter to the King of Tabaristan and the date of the Avesta” is instructive reading for Oriental scholars.

NEPAUL AND CHINA.*

Mr. Bullock, Professor of Chinese at Oxford, once acting as Chinese Secretary of Legation at Peking, has invited my attention to the fact that the Chinese Government always called Sikkim by the name Chêh-méng-hiung. This I now think is undoubtedly the Tibetan name Demojong, which, according to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, means Sikkim. Mr. Bullock also says he satisfied himself, when engaged in negotiations at Peking, that the P'a-k'ê-li of my paper in the January number on Nepaul (which I assumed to be some such name as Pagri) was Pari, or Pari-jong.

I see in the *Enc. Brit.* that the capital of Sikkim is Tumlung, and that the natives go in summer to Chumbi in Tibet. This last must be the Chomu of my paper (p. 78), and the former may be the Tsomulang or Chamulang of my paper (p. 70). Whether Tumlung and Chamulari are different forms of one and the same native name, both represented by Tsomulang, I cannot say. According to the authorities cited in the *Enc. Brit.*, the proper name of the Sikkim people is Rong, and the Goorkhas call them Lepcha: the Tibetans seem to call the Sikkim *people* Deun jong Maro.

The same Encyclopædia speaks of the Deb Rájá of Bhutan. This suggests a connection with the Diba of my paper (p. 15), in which I assume throughout that Sikkim is merely a part of, or the same as, Bhotan. This was because the Manchu Resident in Tibet, in some recent state papers treating of negotiations with India, speaks of two *pênlo* or divisions of the Brughba; the east called *chungsa pênlo*, and the west *pachu pênlo*. It is further stated in the *Enc. Brit.* that the Bhutanese formerly belonged to the Tephu tribe of Bhutiás, but that 200 years ago the Tibetans took possession.

What is now desirable to know, in order to get on the right tack, is (1) Are the Bhutanese and the Sikkimese both Tibetan tribes or not? if not, which is, if either is? (2) Has the word Bhutiyas or Bnutiás anything to do etymologically with Bhutan, Bhotan, Tübot, Tibet, and Bhod? (3) How many tribes, of what nationalities or races, go to worship at Swayambu?

The P'ai-lang of my paper (p. 79) is evidently the *Farang* of the Turkestan Persian-speaking tribes. I remember hearing an Affghan talking of *Farson sahib*, meaning "Mr. Parson," the *f* and *p* evidently being mixed up in those parts.

E. H. PARKER.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN THE "FAR EAST."

SIR,

The people in Great Britain, I am satisfied, are all more or less interested in the outcome of the war with Spain, and its attendant results. The discussion now going on in the American House of Congress, regarding the acceptance or rejection of the treaty of peace with Spain, has many sides to it, and the for and against has been urged with a considerable amount of reason and argument on both sides. But one thing is before the United States, which they cannot avoid, and that is they have become

* See article, *Nepaul and China*, January, 1899, pp. 64-82.

possessed of Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines by conquest, and they must make some settlement of the question, but no settlement which would give the lands back to Spain, or leave them without a protector. The lands which have been wrested from Spain have been so long under her dominion that they do not know what liberty means, and therefore they cannot be turned loose to shift for themselves, notwithstanding the Monroe doctrine or any other doctrine. The United States, it seems to me, cannot refuse to ratify the Treaty of Peace, and take the late Spanish lands under their care, until they can teach the people a lesson on liberty, and help them to realize the difference between it and the tyranny of the Spaniard. If the United States send out good Governors, and the best they can get are to be found in the army, where they have plenty of talent and men better fitted for this kind of work than any civilian. The danger, however, is that political pull will hand them over to the political clique, and that the Islands will be made the theatre of monopoly, and money-grabbing and its consequent oppression. If, however, they lead the native to put faith in the Government of the United States, that is to say, if it avoids the carpet-bagger of old times, and if they do not attempt to Westernize them, as has been done too much in India, there is no reason why the administration should not be a success, even if they have to whip Aguinaldo, and make him behave himself. It will require patience, with the complement of honesty and good intention, virtues which it is impossible to find in connection with the monopolist and schemer, who are dangerous everywhere to good order and good government, and who will yet wreck the American Republic itself, unless a time comes when the people will assert themselves and take matters in hand and call a halt. We want more "Abraham Lincolns" and fewer "Marcus Hannas." We want men whose love of country outweighs their love of gold. They are to be found amongst the common people of America, and they are the ones who ought to be set to work to found new republics, and especially to try to save the old one—that one young in years as a nation, but old and gray as a breeder of monopoly and its attendant evils.

R. A. SKUES, J.P., M.E.,
Late of the Old 69th Regiment.

Pitkin, Colorado,
February, 1899.

SIR LAMBERT PLAYFAIR AND PERIM.

The death of Sir Lambert Playfair has recalled that pretty story of the occupation of Perim which every traveller Eastward hears as he passes out of the Red Sea. It is told in books also, and not a few newspapers have repeated it within the last few days. But in case any mortal should not be acquainted with it, we may summarize the leading points. A French man-of-war puts into Aden with a battalion of infantry on board. The General commanding there thinks it very strange—invites the Admiral to dinner, makes much of him, plies him with wine, and thus, in a moment of confidence, extracts the information that these soldiers are going to occupy Perim next day. No Briton had thought of annexing the island hitherto. Forthwith the General pens a note, at table, sends it by an

orderly, and before daylight the Union Jack is flying on the highest point of Perim. It is commonly added that the Frenchman raved, challenged the General, and so forth. Now, there is not one little word of truth in this story, which, as we said, has been repeated afresh within the last few days by a multitude of newspapers. Those who would learn the real facts may turn to the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, vol. ii., No. 3. There Sir Lambert Playfair tells his own tale, for he was the young Lieutenant who actually hoisted the Union Jack in 1856. There was no French Admiral, no troops, nor even a man-of-war. It is not known that the French Government ever contemplated taking possession of the island, though an adventurer named Lambert had been urging that measure for a long while, and it had been discussed in the Paris press. The British and Indian Governments were so well acquainted with the value of Perim that they had already taken possession of it in 1799. And General Coghlan gave his orders to Lieutenant Playfair to act under direct orders from London. "So history is written" sometimes.—London *Evening Standard*, February 27.

(The history of Perim and the possession of it by England is simply and admirably told by the then Lieutenant Playfair, as referred to by our esteemed contemporary in our issue of July, 1886, pp. 144-155.—ED.)

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

1. *The Colonization of Africa*, by SIR HARRY H. JOHNSTON, K.C.B. (Cambridge Historical Series, edited by G. W. Prothero). The history of Africa, as history in anything but the merest anthropological sense, is the history of its colonizers. The Phœnicians, Romans, Arabs, Portuguese, and their modern successors, have made Africa what it is. Sir Harry Johnston shows clearly enough in his excellent little work that almost all that exists in the way of African civilization, agriculture, and the simpler arts, even in parts never yet visited by Europeans, have really spread into the interior from Arab or European sources. Almost all the cultivated plants and fruits of Africa were introduced by the Portuguese. It is very gratifying to find so staunch an Englishman as the author recognising fully not only the past, but also the present achievements of that adventurous little people. He shows that both in Angola and in South East Africa the Portuguese have done a great deal for the development of the regions that they have successfully claimed for themselves, though we can quite well see that he would have preferred many of them to have been English. He is fair to our other rivals, too—as, for instance, the Germans—and declares that “the politician would be very short-sighted who under-rated the greatness of the German character, or reckoned on the evanescence of German dominion in strange lands.” It is a great thing that in the midst of the fierce struggle for the partition of Africa, one who has played so leading a part in it should yet be able to speak dispassionately of those with whom his country has been brought in such close competition.

2. *Ein Ausflug nach Bampara*, by S. E. PEAL, translated into German, and with an introduction by Kurt Klemm. Mr. Klemm deserves the gratitude of German scholars for having brought out a translation of Mr. Peal's paper on the naked Naga tribes of Sibsagar, Assam, and Bampara, contained in vol. xli., Part I., of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, an account which, though dating back to the year 1872, is still of considerable importance for the study of the language and customs of this primitive and interesting people. Valuable to the student is also the very full and up-to-date bibliography of the subject which the editor has considerably appended to his translation.

CAPELL AND CO.; LONDON, PARIS, NEW YORK, AND MELBOURNE.

3. *The New Far East*, by ARTHUR DIÓSY, Vice-Chairman of Council of the Japan Society, London. With twelve illustrations from special designs by KUBOTA BEISEN, of Tokio, a reproduction of a cartoon designed by H.M. THE GERMAN EMPEROR, and a specially-drawn map. This is a brilliantly-written history of New Japan, containing much instructive information on the affairs of the Far East. The author is not, as might be supposed, a Japanese, but the son of a famous Hungarian patriot

born in England. He writes with all the dash, humour, activity, and patriotism of his countrymen. He enters into details of the recent achievements of the Japanese Government, its army and navy, and while in his criticism he is impartial, he clearly indicates his high appreciation of the Japanese and the prospective position of Japan as one of the great civilizing powers in the Far East. To arrive at a correct impression of Japanese social society Mr. Diósy's book ought to be read, and its perusal will afford much pleasure and profit. The series of illustrations are by a Japanese artist whose fame is now world-wide. The concluding chapter refers to the course which Britain ought to follow in relation to Japan. He says: "Let Britain be strong . . . with the calm force of the strong man armed, determined to keep what he has worked for and won. Japan will, with one accord, become the valuable and trusty ally of her natural friend, Britain, strong enough to command confidence and respect." The result will be "peace, prosperity, and the dawn of a brilliant era to the new Far East."

G.

W. AND R. CHAMBERS.

4. *O'er Tartar Deserts*, by DAVID KER. The story has no great merits, but plenty of boys will appreciate it. It ranges over a sufficiently wide territory, *i.e.*, from Montenegro to the frontiers of China, and there is abundance of bloodshed and horror. The colours are laid on most thick in the description of Krovovil, the ferocious brigand with the angel face. A boys' book is not intended to convey instruction either in politics or in the Russian language; still, it is unwise to lay the seeds of political and philological error by giving Russian characters such transparently English names as Count Born-Liaroff, the famous diplomatist, and Choptheredzoff, the realistic painter.

L.

CHATTO AND WINDUS; LONDON.

5. *The British Empire*, by SIR CHARLES DILKE. Price 3s. 6d. Sir Charles Dilke's writings on Imperial subjects are too well known to require any special introduction. The present little volume is made up of a series of reprints of newspaper articles, published in the course of the year 1898, each dealing with some particular portion of the Empire. The total impression is somewhat sketchy and unfinished; it seems almost a pity that the author could not have spared the time to work up the articles into a larger work. Still, such as it is, the book is interesting and suggestive. The best sections of the work are those on India, Newfoundland and New Zealand. India is much too vast a subject to deal with fully in a few pages, so the author, supposing us to know most of the merits of our Government there, deals shortly and effectively with its main defects. As he truly points out, the financial poverty of India makes the complete carrying out of the scheme of government by trained and highly-paid officials impossible, with the result that our rule comes home to the ordinary Indian villager in the shape of the "native policeman," by no means the most perfect product of British statecraft. Sir Charles Dilke advocates a policy of less interference in local matters, and restriction of the functions of the Imperial officials to

Imperial tasks, *i.e.*, defence, means of communication and general taxation—in other words, a reduction of the Civil Service. For New Zealand, and for the complete social and political revolution created by the Progressive party during its term of power—Land Acts, Female Suffrage, State Life Insurance, Public Trust Office, Compulsory Industrial Arbitration, etc.—Sir Charles Dilke has nothing but praise; and certainly there is no colony of which England has more reason to be proud. But Sir Charles Dilke's speciality is the grievance of the Newfoundlanders, which he expounds most convincingly. Nothing can be more disgraceful than the way in which successive Governments have, in order to save themselves the trouble of a serious discussion with France, bartered away the rights and liberties of British subjects in Newfoundland. The Newfoundland Act of 1891 calls for Sir Charles Dilke's special animadversion. If the book succeeds in drawing attention to this question alone, it will amply have fulfilled its object. It is time we came to an understanding with France, and made the French Government realize that it cannot with dog-in-the-manger "cussedness" turn 700 miles of British coast into a no-man's land for no profit of its own, but singly and solely *pour embêter les Anglais*. L.

DUCKWORTH AND CO.; LONDON.

6. *Feudal and Modern Japan*, by ARTHUR MAY KNAPP. The author shows that modern Japan is not simply a thin veneer of civilization superimposed on barbarism, but a natural outcome of the native feudal system worked out during a long period of isolation on lines often parallel with those of Western progress. Hence, when once Japan opened her doors to foreign influence, she could readily assimilate ideas and methods which were not really foreign to her. The author depicts the Japanese character, its unswerving loyalty to the Emperor and its undying patriotism, which aided Japanese development throughout. He also describes in an interesting manner the religion, social conditions, and other features of family life in Japan. The work is tastefully got up in two neat small volumes, with numerous well-executed illustrations. G.

LUZAC AND CO.; LONDON.

7. *The Travels and Adventures of the Turkish Admiral, Sidi Ali Reis, in India, Afghanistan, Central Asia, and Persia, in the Years 1553-56*, translated from the Turkish, with Notes, by A. VAMBÉRY. This renowned Admiral was commissioned to oppose the Infidels (*i.e.*, the Portuguese). He was obliged, from adverse circumstances, to leave his ships, and travel by land. In his pilgrimages, he visited Basrah, Ormuz, Gujarat, Sind, Hindustan, Kabulistan, Turan, and other places. He details, in a very simple manner, his various vicissitudes, what he saw, the manners and customs of the people, the birds and other animals, the manner of hunting, and the social customs in those times. Mr. Vambéry's object in publishing this old work, in English, is explained by himself. Notwithstanding a German and French translation of the work, the knowledge of the Turkish language has considerably increased since the German Edition in 1815, and many of the discrepancies and inaccuracies of that

translation are now avoided, and the geography and history of the countries traversed have assumed a different aspect. Mr. Vambéry, from his experience and travels in these countries, has been enabled to supply many valuable notes, and has completed this interesting work with a copious index of proper names and places. The old Admiral concludes his story in the following patriotic strain: "If in God's providence he should be driven from home, and forced to wander forth on the unknown, and perhaps be caught on the turbulent waves of the sea of adversity, let him still always keep in mind that love for one's native land is next to one's faith. Let him never cease to long for the day that he shall see his native shores again, and always, whatever befall, cling loyally to his Padishah."

MACMILLAN AND CO.; LONDON.

8. *Gordon in Central Africa*, 1874-79, with a portrait and map of the country prepared under Colonel Gordon's supervision; from original letters and documents. Edited by GEORGE BIRKBECK HILL, D.C.L., LL.D., Hon. Fellow of Pembroke College, Oxford. Third edition. The editor gives a short but admirable memoir of one of England's heroes and a history of his career, from letters written by Gordon himself. The letters were written without the slightest idea that they should ever be published, and consequently they give a simple, fresh, and direct statement of events as they happened at the time, and they, moreover, indicate the high religious principles which guided Gordon in all his arduous achievements. Sir Henry, his brother, writes to Dr. Hill with regard to how he has executed his task, "it reads delightfully," and he expresses the admirable manner in which he has executed his difficult task. "Of all the books written about my brother, none can approach yours. . . . I have often quoted it over and over again to the Government." The result of the hero's death is seen in the action of Lord Kitchener and the unanimous appreciation of the nation in assisting in establishing those educational and other efforts which will yet bear beneficent fruits in advancing civilization and promoting prosperity and happiness to the inhabitants of the Soudan.

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY; NEW YORK.

9. *Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran*, by A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, Professor of Indo-Iranian languages in Columbia University. Although much has been written about Zoroaster and his religion both in England, on the Continent, and in India, no work has yet appeared which places before the reader in one view all that has hitherto been discovered regarding this somewhat obscure question. For lucidity, methodical arrangement, and comprehensiveness, Professor Jackson's book is unrivalled, and will probably remain for a long time to come the standard work on the subject. From the earliest mythical and poetical accounts in ancient writers down to the latest results of modern research, including even fragmentary and uncertain allusions in the literature of widely-sundered nations, all that can in any way throw light on the subject has been carefully collected. To the ordinary reader the book, in its masterly clearness of style, will present (to use the author's own words) "in bold relief historically the figure of

this religious leader," while to the student it will be invaluable from its exhaustive collection of references to all that has hitherto been written about Zoroaster. The importance of the work, indeed, is such that we propose to review it more fully in an early issue. Meanwhile, it may be cordially recommended to all who desire to obtain full and satisfactory information concerning the great religious movement connected with the name of the ancient Prophet of Iran. J. B.

G. A. NATESAN; MADRAS.

10. *Indian Politics*. The present volume, which is headed by an introduction by Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, is composed of a series of articles by various English and Indian writers (among which we may note one by Mr. Romesh C. Dutt, which incorporates an article which has appeared already in the January number of this review), and a complete series of the presidential addresses delivered before the Indian National Congress. The whole work is, in a sense, a manifesto of the National Congress. As such it well deserves careful reading by every Englishman, and still more by every Anglo-Indian, whether a sympathizer with the National Congress or not. Space in the present number will not permit of as exhaustive a review as the articles and speeches merit. A dispassionate study of them ought to convince most readers that the Indian National Congress, as a body, though impatient with the scruples and prejudices of a bureaucratic Government, is not disloyal to the British supremacy, and does not deserve the epithet of "seditious" any more than the Anti-Corn-Law League, or other agitating associations to whom the title was so freely applied in the past.

DAVID NUTT; LONDON.

11. *Quatrains of Omar (Umr) Khayyam in English Prose*, by J. H. MCCARTHY. This is a translation of some (about 350) of the reputed Quatrains of Omar (we adopt the usual wrong transliteration of the name in order to be intelligible to English readers) Khayyám, arranged by Mr. McCarthy in some order best known to himself, but one really hopeless for a reviewer to cope with, as the translator gives no clue whatever to it. He, moreover, does not state which of the original Persian texts he has followed, so that the reviewer has to rely, when he desires to compare them, on discovering some chance quatrain with which he happens to be familiar, and can thus manage to trace, in Whinfield's, Heron Allen's, or other editions. If our comments on any particular stanza should prove to be at fault, in consequence of not comparing it with the proper original, the translator will have himself alone to thank for them. In the first we come across (at page 66), which we can compare with No. 1 at page 119 of Heron Allen, the first lines in both are nearly identical, and the third as well, with the exception that the present translator gives "*az karmat*" (از کرمات) as "the throne of Thy mercy," in place of simply "Thy mercy"; but lines 2 and 4 differ entirely, the former in the present version is translated, "I have never swept the dust from thy steps," whereas it should be, according to the original in Heron Allen, "I have never swept the dust of

sin from my face." Line 4 here reads: "I have never importuned Thee with prayers," but should be, according to Heron Allen, "I have never said that One was Two," that is, that he has never denied the Unity of God.

At page 44 occurs the well-known quatrain as to Khayyám's sewing the tents of wisdom or learning. In the present translation *tandb* (طناب) is given in the third line as "thread," the point of its being really a "tent-rope" being missed; and in the fourth, what should be the "broker of hope" as "the impatient world."

It is somewhat more than a poetical license to translate *حور* (a *Huri*), a *golden girl*, as the translator does in the second quatrain at page 7. In the fourth line of the same, moreover, "mentioning the name" of Paradise is given as "dreaming" of Paradise.

In the second quatrain, at page 34, this version says: "I know not if He who created me belongs to Paradise or hell." It is impossible that Umr Khayyám should have uttered such a sentiment; the original has it "said I was of," or "appointed me to," heaven or hell. The chief point of the quatrain, moreover, is missed when sensual pleasures are not brought forward as the *cash* of present enjoyment, and contrasted with the anticipation of a glorious future as a heaven on *credit*, as they are in the original.

In the fourth quatrain (on page 86), lastly, the translation is by no means accurate. It should read: "From the stage of infidelity to faith is but one breath: and from the world of doubt to certainty is but one breath. Enjoy this one precious breath, for of the gain of our lives there is but this one breath."

It is strange that a man of the literary ability of Mr. J. H. McCarthy should have allowed such slipshod English to remain in a second edition of his translation, as in the fifth quatrain on page 24, "Daff them-aside"; "thridded" for "threaded," in the first quatrain on page 50; and addressing the Deity both as "Thou" and "*you*" in the fourth on page 59, and in the first on page 41.

To wind up with, the translator ends the book with what, from its position and all want of explanation, would appear to be a translation from the Persian poet, Nizámi, in some lines of very inferior blank verse supposed to have been written on the occasion of a visit to Umr Khayyám's grave, both the visit and the verse having been evolved from Mr. McCarthy's own inner consciousness.

A. R.

KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER AND CO., LTD.; LONDON.

12. *Eur-Aryan Roots*, by J. BALY, M.A., Worcester Coll., Oxon., sometime Archdeacon of Calcutta. Vol. I. The object of this work is, the compiler informs us, to present to English readers in as popular a form as the subject admits of, and with especial reference to the English language, the results recently obtained by German philologists in the department of learning of which it treats. He then proceeds to give the history of philological enterprise in this particular field, connecting therewith the names of students in Germany, America, and England whose published works have from time to time helped forward the study; and then (expand-

ing the idea) he proceeds—"This attempt to make English readers better acquainted with German scholarship will I hope help them to a better understanding of the origin, formation, and history of by far the larger proportion of English words, and of their relation not only to words in other languages, but also to other English words which often differ widely in sound and sense, and yet have a common origin and a proved etymological connexion." From this it will appear that the most fruitful labour in this department has been achieved by the Germans. The author then proceeds to explain his new coinage "Eur-Aryan," pointing out (with his reasons) the inappropriateness of the hitherto current expressions "Aryan," "Indo-Germanic," and "Indo-European," and shows that, though not so simple as the term "Aryan," it has the advantage of being truer to the facts, and that it is, besides, both less cumbrous and more exact than either of the other terms mentioned. He acknowledges that to Mr. Whitley Stokes belongs the credit of having first suggested such a designation to him. With the view of putting the student in a better position to use the Dictionary, the author proceeds to give a full example of his mode of treatment of a given root, and then goes on to explain the principle on which he evolves his results. He says, with great truth, respecting the steps and processes through which roots pass in the numerous languages of the Euro-Aryan family—"These changes must not be regarded as either accidental or arbitrary. They are regulated by general laws, ascertained and attested by induction from a large number of instances in conformity with them. Any variation from these, incapable of explanation, throws a doubt upon the correctness of the etymology in which it is found; although there may be cases where, notwithstanding a variation from the law, the evidence in favour of the etymology is so strong that it may be accepted as highly probable, though perhaps not absolutely proved." He brings his Introduction to a close by giving a long list of works from which he has derived much of his material and assistance, including the standard works in philological studies in most of the languages of Europe and Western Asia, which are acknowledged by all scholars as up-to-date and authoritative. The list, however, is not complete: there are some workers (such as Shakespear, Gilchrist, and others) of whose researches in Oriental philology Mr. Baly can hardly be ignorant, and to whom all students of Indian languages are deeply indebted, whose works are not alluded to in the list. Upon the whole, however, it is a model of what a good "Introduction" to a work of this nature ought to be. It is a thick quarto volume, and is followed by three good Indexes (not "Indices" as the compiler elects to call them—a term sacred to the *mathematician*), and contains upwards of 800 pages all told. As the work marks a distinct advance-stage in philological science we have deemed it important to leave the author to speak pretty much for himself as to the description and *raison d'être* of his own work.

The author describes it as a work exhibiting "the Eur-Aryan roots with their English derivations and the corresponding words in the cognate Languages compared and systematically arranged." To the English student it might be described as being for all intents and purposes an

English Etymological Dictionary, with this reservation, however, that it deals exclusively with Roots of a certain origin. It is a "Dictionary" in this sense, that all the Roots treated of are arranged in their alphabetical order. It is, however, a Dictionary of Roots, and these Roots as found in the Euro-Aryan languages. This, the first volume, contains the Roots reaching from the theme *AIDH* ("the emission of light or heat by burning") to the theme *PER* or *PR* (embodying the sense of *extension* or *spreading out*, as a wing [Pers. *par*, which illustration, by the way, the author does not give] or a *frond*, as of the *fern*-plant, or a *sail* or *flap*). As the volume was published as long ago as 1897, and the author tells us in his Introduction that he hoped the next would appear in about two years from then, the completing volume should by this time be not far off.

In some instances we think the accuracy of the author's etymologies may be questioned. For instance, on p. 492, we are told that the former part of the word "Despot" (*des*) is shortened from the Greek *δεσ-*, which the author connects with the Sanskrit *dam-as*, "house." Judging from linguistic analogy this is not inconceivable. But the idea of the "despot" is not so much that of a man who governs a "house" as of one who governs a *country*. It is the idea of a "ruler" or "sovereign" (cf. "the Tyrant of Syracuse"). We have all heard of "the mild Despotism" of the Government of India. If our view of the root of this member of the word is the correct one, then the form *des-* is not so far to seek as *δεσ-*, and should be connected more directly (as "pot" from Skr. *pati*, *patis* is) with the Sanskrit *dasha* (Prakrit *des*). This derivation would bring the etymology of the word more into line with its practical application in ordinary usage in Greek and English literature, and indeed in *all* literature, the "*despot*" being not so much "the ruler of a *house*" as "the lord (or sovereign) of a country." To be sure, when such a person over-rides his functions proper, there is apt to be "despotism" in the bad sense—"despotic conduct," as we say in English—just as when the "Tyrant" rode his hobby too hard and too far, there was "tyranny." We do not, however, put forward this etymology dogmatically. The derivation of this troublesome syllable has puzzled even our best of etymologists, Max Müller. Mr. Baly's view of the case is neither impossible nor improbable. We are merely concerned to point out that the case is neither so free from controversy nor so absolutely settled as Mr. Baly's account of it might lead his readers to suppose. And while we are speaking on this subject of the etymological aspect of the work, we may make note of a certain parsimony of information in some places. For instance, on p. 706 we are told that the name of the town of "Reading" is derived, through the Keltic (not, however, "Celtic," as Mr. Baly everywhere prefers to call it, thus *creating* an ambiguity of pronunciation where in truth no ambiguity does really exist) from the Eur-Aryan root *PR*, but he affords not the faintest clue to the toiling student as to the *reason* why the town should have been designated by a name embodying the concept of this root ("to extend," "to spread out," "to flap"). Here and there we note a deficiency of information of the sort the inquiring and studious reader would be in search of in order that conviction of the soundness of the etymology might be brought home

to him. We would venture to suggest that in a reprint of the work or in a general list of "Addenda" at the end of the forthcoming volume, Mr. Baly might supply more information of this sort in such cases of deficiency as the one now pointed out. Obviously this would enhance the intrinsic value and importance of the Dictionary, and consolidate its usefulness and establish its supremacy in its department, and secure its permanency in the field of scientific etymology.

As to the editing and printing there is not much that calls for remark. The work is in these respects beautifully put out of hand. It would, however, have been an advantage if the quantities of the vowels had been marked. Untravelled English readers, however well educated, must not be blamed if they happen not to know, for instance, the quantity of the letter *a* in the Hinduf word "Bhai," or of the letter *u* in "Puchhna," which word, by the way, the learned author (see Introd., p. xxiii) mis-spells "puchna." It is not in human nature to know the quantity of every vowel in an unknown tongue, and a Dictionary is the very place where all such information and guidance should be found. Lastly, there are some misprints, as when on p. 311 (last line) the wrong *figure* is affixed to the word "crag." We speak, of course, of such errors as are not corrected in Mr. Baly's list at the end of the volume. It is a pity that great publishers do not keep in their establishment some intelligent Fourth-Form girl who might employ herself very much to the advantage of publisher and purchaser in supplying minute deficiencies such as scholars who compile such works as the present find too tedious.

But a truce to fault-finding! This is a grand work: truly so. And it marks a distinct advance in the broad realm of etymological research. It is in effect a Dictionary of English Etymology, and will be used as such, though it is more strictly (as the author has suggested in its title) a Dictionary of Roots, and these "Roots" as found in the Euro-Aryan languages. Mr. Baly says nothing about the languages of the Shemitic family, though of these he is not by any means ignorant. These ancient tongues (or dialects) contain, indeed, many words of Aryan origin, yet the Shemitish languages do not properly come under the head of "Euro-Aryan," and consequently, though the words alluded to are not properly Shemitic, yet they have no proper claim to appear in a compilation such as the one now under notice. The present is not a work for reading, it is distinctly a work of reference. It might be looked upon as a high-class Dictionary, yet in a sense quite different from that of the late very learned Professor Hensleigh Wedgwood. The etymologies are traced out with more elaboration and more system than is to be seen in any Etymological Dictionary which has hitherto appeared.

Not the least interesting part of the work is the footnotes. These are very numerous throughout, they are eminently helpful in connexion with the text, and they contain a wonderful amount of curious, learned, and highly pertinent and suggestive information. The interest of this unique work will for the etymologist be exhaustless and perennial. Open the book where one may, the attention is at once riveted. There is not a line of "thin" writing in it; no flimsy guessing, nor a single haphazard

word. There is the same honest, hard-working, fruitful research from the first page to the last.

The work shows the very useful way in which one might spend his spare time in the leisured quiet of an Indian chaplaincy. Men have sometimes gone to that land with the impression that as they are going to the land of "jungle" they will have no need for further study. Sooner or later they discover that no mistake could be greater. India is a field where the highest possible attainments in learning in any branch may find ample scope for the right man. The truth of the saying "He that hath to him shall be given, and he shall have abundance" was never more strikingly evidenced than in that land. And as to fruitfulness of soil, the volume before us could not have been written if the compiler had not himself resided there, and brought to bear upon its exhaustless material the high order of scholarship with which he was equipped when he went thither. When but the right man is forthcoming India is found to afford as fine a field as could be desired for the exercise of profound learning and painstaking industry. This holds good in every and any department of learning for which a man has a liking—Archæology, Languages, History, Botany, Mythology, Architecture, Comparative Religion, Ethnology, Zoology, Mineralogy, Meteorology, Numismatology, Ornithology, and all the rest. In each of these interesting departments and in many others Anglo-Indians have discovered in that great and beautiful land a new world. And though so much has been achieved there in these branches of research, there still remains more to be done than has ever yet been achieved. We are but at the fringe of Indian lore, even at the best. The native is not of much service as an explorer or a leader in these matters: he is, in truth, part of the "quarry" from which we are to dig the materials out of which our knowledge of India and her resources is to be built up. He is not a *leader* in any department of Oriental research, and is for the most part a most unsafe guide, though often an astute fellow. Valuable as India is as a place for earning one's livelihood, it is still more valuable as offering a career for scientific enterprise. And the present volume, as the work of an Anglo-Indian of many years' residence in the country, is an additional instance in proof of all this.

B.

13. *Masnavi i M'anavi, the Spiritual Couplets of Maulânâ Jalâl-ud-dîn Muhammad Rûmî*, translated and abridged by E. H. WHINFIELD, late Bengal Civil Service; second edition. This is an abridged translation into English prose of the celebrated "Masnavi," or poem in rhymed couplets, of the great exponent of Sûfism, commonly known as Jalâl-ud-dîn Rûmî, of Balkh. It is said in the author's Arabic preface to contain the roots of the Faith, and treats of the mysteries of "Union" and "Certitude"; to consist of strange and rare narratives, beautiful sayings, and recondite indications; a path for the devout and a garden for the pious. It is divided into six chapters, each containing a variety of anecdotes, followed by moral reflections and admonitions, all tending to illustrate the mystic doctrines of the Sûfis.

The Sûfis, says Vincenz von Rosenzweig, to whom we are indebted for a translation into German of selected portions of this "Masnavi," were

men who strove to find the truth, who were continually inspired by the contemplation of God as the original source of Light and Love, and the desire of union with Him with the full glow of godly love, for the only dogma of the Súfí is, "God is the Light, and the Light is God," the uncreated, eternal, incorporeal, which, broken into a thousand rays, is reflected by the world in all its forms. The highest perfection of a Súfí or the highest step of Mysticism consists in the highest exaltation and in the purest love towards that eternal, unending Being, raised above all imagination and thought, bodies and spirits, that is the abstract of the worlds, the Eternal Spirit, the All-one God. He who would immerse himself in this sea of godly contemplation and love, must first annihilate his own "I,"—that is, must free himself from all bonds of the senses, so that, lifting himself into eternity beyond space and time, he may absorb himself into one with that Eternal Being as a perpetual worshipper and a constant lover with that unending love, and lose himself in the great "All." Religion and Love for the Súfí flow together into one with their source :

" Love, though unto earth so prone,
Delights to take religion's wings."

T. MOORE.

The godly portion of man goes back to the original Sun-source, whence he sprang ; he draws out Manhood, and dives into the depths of Godhood.

In reading the works of Persian mystic poets, it is necessary, especially in such cases as those of Farid-ud-dín 'Attár, Jalál-ud-dín Rúmi, and Háfiz, not to take their expressions in their literal and ordinary sense, for they were in the habit of concealing their doctrines from the common people by the employment of involved or unusual terms of speech. Literal interpretation of this kind has often brought them into direct conflict with orthodox Mussulmáns, and it will be remembered that in the case of Háfiz it led to an actual dispute as to whether he had not outraged the feelings of the pious to such an extent as to be unworthy of burial as one of the followers of the Prophet, a disaster which was only averted by the accident that when divination was resorted to by chance-opening of his *Ghazals*, the passage, "Fear not to follow the bier of Háfiz, for though he was drowned in the ocean of sin, yet shall he appear in Paradise," happened to present itself, and he was accordingly interred in the orthodox fashion. As Mr. Whinfield remarks, "By love was meant such a longing for God as that described in the Psalm : 'Like as the hart desireth the water-brooks, so longeth my soul after Thee, O God.'" And in the second place, Rúmi's conception of love certainly included some part of what St. John and St. Paul meant by love (*ἀγάπη*). It certainly included mutual charity,—at any rate, as far as the brethren of the order and other "friends of God" were concerned,—though, of course, it did not amount to that universal charity, that "enthusiasm of humanity," which possessed St. Francis, and impelled him to spend and be spent in the service of the poor and outcast. The Allah of the Korán is precisely the Jehovah of the Old Testament, a Divine King of kings dwelling in the highest heaven (عرش), a God of goodness and severity, of mercy and of vengeance, who

rules the world with mighty and irresistible power. The love of the Súfis is compared to the love of an affectionate child which divines the reasons for its father's severity, and to the love of a lover who finds excuses for the cruelty of his mistress; in fact, he explains it by the analogy of earthly love. The drunkenness of the Súfi is not that of wine, but the intoxication of Divine Love. The locks of a beloved object are the secrets of the Godhead and the inclination of the Spirit towards Truth; the brow is the opening of godly mysteries or the revelation of the Lord, which manifests itself as the eternal, true, beautiful, and good, in the triple union of light, life, and love; the dimples of the chin are the difficulties into which man, in his search for the Godhead, is plunged as into an abyss; and the double chin the overflowing love which he enjoys who has already attained to knowledge of the Truth.

The ecstasy (Hál—حال) and the raptures (مواجد and ذوق) of the Súfis were condemned by the orthodox as heretical, but continued to be held to by the former, although they were aware of their liability to abuse, which requires to be guarded against by the admonitions of a Pír or Spiritual Director.

Jalál-ud-dín was born at Balkh in A.H. 604 (A.D. 1207), and died in A.H. 672 (A.D. 1273), and left the following as his dying instructions: "My testament is this, that ye be pious towards God, in private and in public; that ye eat little, sleep little, speak little; that ye depart from wickedness and sin; that ye continue instant in fasting and stedfast in vigilance; that ye flee from carnal lusts with all your might; that ye endure patiently the contumely of the world; that ye shun the company of the base and foolish, and consort with the noble-hearted and the pious. Verily, the best man is he who doeth good to men, and the best speech is that which is short and guideth men aright. Praise be to God, who is the only God." Such a moral code all might well follow.

The text of the translation is that of the Buláq edition of A.H. 1268. A good many of the anecdotes in the original appear to have been omitted, and those that are given (originally written in rhymed couplets) have been very much abridged in the prose translation, which, as far as we can judge from a cursory comparison with the original, appears to be good and literal. The moral illustrations based on the anecdotes, and the maxims deduced from them, have also a prose translation of the couplets line by line, so that the general purport of the poet's ideas may be clearly gathered. We close this brief notice with quotations of some of the subtleties in which the Súfis delight:

"Seemingly the bough is the cause of the fruit,
But really the bough exists because of the fruit.
Were he not impelled by desire of fruit,
The gardener would never have planted the tree,
Therefore in reality the tree is born from the fruit,
Though seemingly the fruit is born from the tree.
For this cause Mustafa (Muhammad) said: Adam and all prophets
Are my followers and gather under my standard.
Though to outward view I am a son of Adam,
In reality I am his first forefather,

Because the angels worshipped him for my sake,
 And twas in my footsteps that he ascended to heaven.
 Hence, in reality our first parent was my offspring,
 As in reality the tree is born of its own fruit."

* * * * *

Men's bodies are like pitchers with closed mouths ;
 Beware till you see what is inside them,
 The pitcher of this body holds the water of life,
 Whilst that one holds deadly poison.
 If you look at the contents, you are wise ;
 If you look only at the vessel, you are misguided.
 Known words resemble these bodies,
 And the meaning resembles the soul.
 The body's eyes are ever intent on bodies,
 The soul's eyes on the reasonable soul ;
 Wherefore in the figures of the words of the Masnavi,
 The form misleads, but the inner meaning guides.
 In the Korán it is declared that its parables
 " Misdlead some and guide some " (Korán ii. 24).
 O God, when a spiritual man talks of wine,
 How can a fellow spiritual man mistake his meaning ?

* * * * *

Then that minstrel began his intoxicating song,
 " O give me Thy cup, Thou whom I see not.
 Thou art my face ; what wonder if I see it not ?
 Extreme nearness acts as an obscuring veil."

A. ROGERS.

THE COMMITTEE OF THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND ; LONDON.

14. *Excavations at Jerusalem 1894-1897*, by F. J. BLISS, PH.D., Explorer to the Fund. Plans and illustrations by ARCHIBALD C. DICKIE, A.R.I.B.A. This volume, prepared jointly by Dr. Bliss and Mr. Dickie, will be received by archæologists and Biblical students with much interest. In recording interesting discoveries, it shows under what difficulties the excavations are made, owing to the land being divided amongst so many owners. It details explorations from the Protestant Cemetery to the Jewish ; discoveries on the Western Hill from the latter to Ophel, the Tyropæon Valley, the church at the Pool of Siloam ; and gives an interesting sketch of the walls of Jerusalem. The volume is enriched with numerous illustrations, diagrams and maps, and minute index, reflecting great credit on both the editors and the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

MESSRS. SMITH, ELDER AND CO. ; LONDON, 1898.

15. *British Rule and Modern Politics ; A Historical Study*, by the Hon. A. S. G. CANNING. There is no reason why Mr. Canning should not study a little history, but it is a pity that he should have been induced to make public his reflections and moralizings on the subject. The title of the work is misleading ; there is not much about either British rule or modern politics, or about the connection between them ; the work is just an "omnium gatherum" of miscellaneous reflections, quotations from Gibbon and the poets, and—let us therefore not be too severe—the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*. The style is strongly under the influence of Gibbon, a

dangerous model in the present age; the result, quite unintentionally, no doubt, is that whole passages inevitably savour of parody. Whole chapters are devoted to Scott's and Dickens' views on religious fanaticism and religious hypocrisy—subjects interesting, no doubt, but not connected very closely with British rule or modern politics—quite as closely, though, as most of the chapters in this volume. It would be easy to pick Mr. Canning to pieces, but he is so *naïf*, so childlike, and old-fashioned, and he has written with such evident pleasure in his own work, that it would be cruelty to do so. L.

16. *The Sepoy Mutiny as seen by a Subaltern: From Delhi to Lucknow*, by COLONEL EDWARD VIBART, late 15th Bengal Cavalry. This is another volume of reminiscences of a subject which will always be fascinating to the English reader. The writer is one of the very few still alive who was an actual eye-witness of the stirring episodes connected with the outbreak at Delhi. He relates his adventures on that occasion together with his subsequent experiences in the suppression of the Mutiny. There is also a chapter on "How the Electric Telegraph saved India." The volume contains a number of good illustrations and a plan of Delhi as it was in 1857, and valuable appendices.

TAYLOR AND HAWKINS; BRISTOL.

17. *China and the Open Door*, by COLONEL COATES. In the present political situation in the Far East any work dealing with China is of interest. Colonel Coates' book is not very full, nor always quite accurate, as, *e.g.*, when he estimates the population of Peking at three millions; but for all that it has its value. Colonel Coates was for many years in the country in the capacity of an officer attached to the Chinese Army, and his opinions are necessarily entitled to some consideration. One need not be fully convinced either by his or Gordon's estimate of the military resources of China, but even the most sceptical should bear in mind that capable officers consider that the Chinaman is in many respects an excellent soldier, obedient, cheerful, and in a way of his own indifferent to death. Where one's scepticism really comes in is when the question is raised whether China could, with the help of a few English officers, raise an efficient army or navy. The teaching of the Turkish army and navy, and of the Egyptian army as an example on the other side, would indicate that nothing short of a very efficient political control over a decaying Government will create a good army, whatever the natural capacities of the people, and that, on the other hand, if political control goes hand-in-hand with military reorganization an excellent army may be made out of the worst material. The policy of the "Open Door" in China is no doubt the best one for this country to pursue, as long as there is any hope of its being pursued with success. But it will never avail to defend China against actual aggression from Russia, however many officers we lend the Chinese. That could only be done if we stepped in and reorganized China from above downwards, and created a Chinese army to equal our native army in India. Colonel Coates' book contains a good deal of the past history of China's relations to the European Powers, and gives the chief terms of most of

the conventions concluded with European Powers in the present century. Interesting, too, are some of the military sketch-plans, of the Taku Forts, the country between Tientsin and Peking, etc., though they have not been brought up to date by the insertion of the railway-line, which is a rather serious omission.

18. *Presumptions and Inferences: A Note on Second Appeals in India*, by G. C. WHITWORTH, Indian Civil Service. This is a discussion of the meaning of the phrase "inference of law," as used in the judgments of the Privy Council. The writer seeks to distinguish it from "presumption of law," and his argument touches practice in regard to what points give the High Courts in India jurisdiction to admit a second appeal. Though the pamphlet may be useful to judges as a whetstone of intellect, a practising lawyer would remark that where the Privy Council has refrained from definition, no inference can be drawn from a phrase casually used in a judgment. The Indian Legislature, moreover, in Select Committee excluded a draft section on inference from the first chapter of the Evidence Code, on the ground that it was fitter for a treatise than an Act. The case at 7 Allah, 655 shows plainly that judges will, in their desire for substantial justice, give a wide meaning to Section 584 of the Civil Proc. Code. The keen logic of Mr. Whitworth may, however, be of value to the Legislature when these codes are re-cast, as his criticisms of the enacted rules on relevancy of facts were handsomely acknowledged as correct by Mr. Justice Stephen on an earlier occasion.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

WE acknowledge with thanks the receipt of the following books which want of space prevents our noticing at greater length in the present number :

The Population and Revenue of China, by E. H. PARKES, reprinted from *Oria Merzetiana*. An exhaustive treatise on the ancient and modern population of China, and the revenue of the country, so far as can be ascertained from public documents. It is valuable, both to the merchant and the statesman.

Woman in the Ancient Hebrew Cult, by ISMAR J. PERITY, A.M., PH.D. (Harv.), Professor of Semitic Languages and Archæology, Syracuse University, U.S.A., reprinted from *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1898 (Part II.), U.S.A. A learned, exhaustive, and interesting inquiry as to the position of women in the worship of the ancient Hebrews, having an important bearing on the part women should take in Christian worship and philanthropy in the present day.

The Copyright Case: S. Sitavama Sastri, B.A., v. G. P. Pillai, B.A. (printed by H. Plumbe, Lawrence Asylum Steam Press, Madras). This pamphlet contains a report of the proceedings and judgment in a case well known in India. The soundness of the judgment is very doubtful, had the trial taken place in England.

Travels in Tartary, Thibet, and China, by MM. GOBET and HUC (the Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago; Kegan Paul, Trench,

Trübner, and Co., London). This famous work, translated from the French by W. HAZLITT, is reprinted, with map and fifty illustrations; exceedingly well executed. In two vols. at 10s.; also in one vol., cloth 5s., paper 4s.

Catherine Gladstone: Life, Good Works, and Political Efforts, by EDWIN A. PRATT (Sampson Low, Marston and Co., London). An interesting biography, illustrating the Christian and philanthropic work and the amount of useful and benevolent institutions which Mrs. Gladstone was the means of founding or sustaining during the lifetime of her husband, the famous English Statesman.

A Set of Fourteen Drawings, Illustrating Edward Fitzgerald's Translation of the Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyām, by GILBERT JAMES (Leonard Smithers and Co., Old Bond Street, London). These drawings appeared in the *Sketch* at various times during the past two years, and are now collected in a handsome volume, beautifully printed, bringing vividly to mind some of the exquisite sayings of this famous author.

The Travels of Ibn Batuta in Urdu (Vol. II.), containing a description of his travels in India, Maldives, Ceylon, Sumatra, Siam, China, Spain, and Negroland, translated from the original Arabic of Ibn Jazzi of Granada, with copious notes, illustrative of the history, geography, archæology, botany, mineralogy of those countries, by "KHAN SAHIB" MAULVI MUHAMMAD HUSAIN, M.A. (the Punjab Central Publishing House, and printed at the Rifah-i-am Press, Lahore). This work reflects much credit, both to the translator and printer. It is dedicated to Dr. G. W. Leitner, in appreciation of his ripe Oriental scholarship and his devotion during the best part of his life to the interests of the province, by his old pupil and disciple.

A Century of Indian Epigrams, chiefly from the Sanskrit of Bhartrihari, by PAUL ELMER MORE (Harper and Brothers, London and New York). A very useful and convenient volume, well printed, containing many of the famous epigrams of the ancient Brahmins.

Bartholomew's Political Map of Africa, and also *Map of Central and South Africa* (John Bartholomew and Co., the Edinburgh Geographical Institute, Park Road, Edinburgh). Both are well executed and highly useful to statesmen and others interested in this vast region of the earth.

We beg to acknowledge also the receipt of: *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*;—*Biblia*, the American monthly of Oriental Research (Meriden, Conn., U.S.A.);—*La Revue des Revues* (Paris);—*Questions Diplomatiques et Coloniales, Revue de Politique extérieure* (Paris);—*La Revue Générale Belge* (Brussels);—*The Minerva* (Rome);—*The Contemporary Review* (London: Isbister and Co.);—*The National Review* (Arnold and Co.);—*Le Polybiblion* (Paris: Rue St. Simon);—*Le Bulletin des Sommaires* (Paris);—*The American Weekly, Public Opinion* (Astor Place, New York);—*Journal of the Society of Arts* (London);—*Le Mémorial Diplomatique* (Paris);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*The Indian Magazine and Review* (London: A. Constable and Co.);—*Comptes-rendus de la Société de Géographie* (Paris);—*Le Tour du Monde* (London and Paris: Hachette);—From Geo. Newnes, London: the three last numbers

of *The Strand Magazine*;—*The Strand Musical Magazine*, *The Navy and Army*, and *Country Life*;—*The Land of the Midnight Sun* (Parts I.—V.);—Hans Andersen's *Fairy Tales* (Parts I.—IV.);—*The Wide World*;—*The Monster Recitation Book*;—*The Monster Health Book*;—*Fashions and Fancies*;—*Woman's Life*;—the first number of *The Captain*, a magazine for boys and "old boys" (all illustrated);—*The Royal Atlas of England and Wales* (Parts I., II., and III.);—*Akademiai Almanach* (Budapest);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute*, No. 4, Session 1898-99 (Northumberland Avenue, London);—*The North American Review*, January to March, 1899 (New York);—*The American Journal of Semitic Sciences and Literatures* (Vol. XV., No. 2), continuing "Hebraica" (The University of Chicago Press, and Luzac and Co., London);—the last quarter's *Sanscrit Journal* of the Oriental University Institute, Woking;—*Australasia Illustrated*, edited by Hon. ANDREW GARRAN, M.A., etc. (Part I.) (London: Horace Marshall and Son);—Annis Lennox's *Chinese Annual*, 1898 (London: Marshall Bros.);—*Report on the Administration of the Bombay Presidency for 1897-98*, and *Report of the Director of Public Instruction in the Bombay Presidency for 1897-98* (Bombay Government Central Press);—*Annual Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey Circle, N.W. Provinces and Oudh, for the Year ending June 30, 1898*;—*Monograph on Buddha Sakyamuni's Birth-place in the Nepalese Tarai*, by A. FÜHRER, PH.D., and *The Moghul Architecture of Fathpur Sikri*, by E. W. SMITH (Part III.) (Allahabad Government Press);—*Extrait du Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie de Bruxelles*, Tome XXII., 1898-99;—*L'Histoire et les Migrations de la Croix et du Su-astika*, par J. F. HEWITT (Brussels: Hayez, 1898); *Les Etudes Chinoises* (1895-1898), by HENRI CORDIER (Leide, Librairie E. J. Brill);—*Preliminary Account of an Expedition to the Pueblo Ruins near Winslow, Arizona, in 1896*, by J. WALTER FEWKES;—*Was Primitive Man a Modern Savage?* by TALCOTT WILLIAMS;—*Bows and Arrows in Central Brazil*, by HERMANN MEYER. Reprinted from the Smithsonian Report for 1896. Washington Government Printing Office, 1898;—*Life of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, Empress of India*. The Viveka Chintamani Series, edited by C. V. SWAMINATHA Aiyar. Empress of India Press, Madras;—*Vernacular Studies in Madras*, a series of articles from the *Madras Mail* by the same author;—also *The Encouragement of Vernaculars*, a paper contributed to the *Madras Review* for November, 1898.

For want of space, we are obliged to postpone reviews of the following important works till our next issue: *The New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*, founded mainly on the materials collected by the Philological Society, edited by Dr. JAMES MURRAY, with the assistance of many scholars and men of science. Part, Heel—Hod. Vol. v. (Clarendon Press, Oxford, London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and New York.) *Raiders and Rebels in South Africa*, by ELSA GOODWIN GREEN, illustrated. (George Newnes, Limited, London.) *With a Palette in Eastern Palaces*, by E. M. MERRICK, illustrated. (Sampson Low, Marston and Co., London.) *The Founding of South Australia, as recorded in the Journals of Mr. Robert Gouger, First Colonial Secretary*, edited by EDWIN HODDER. (Sampson

Low, Marston and Co., London.) *The Letters and Descriptions of Hammurabi, King of Babylon about B.C. 2200*, by L. W. KING. Vol. i. Introduction and the Babylonian Texts. Being vol. ii. of Luzac's Semitic Text and Translation Series. (Luzac and Co., London.) *The Story of Ahikar, from the Syriac, Arabic, Armenian, Ethiopic, Greek, and Slavonic Versions*, by F. C. CONYBEARE, J. RENDEL HARRIS, and AGNES SMITH LEWIS. (C. J. Clay and Sons, Cambridge University Press, London.) *Lord Clive: The Foundation of British Rule in India*, by Sir ALEXANDER JOHN ARBUTHNOT, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., and lately a member of the Council of India. (T. Fisher Unwin, London.) *In the Niger Country*, by HAROLD BINDLOSS, with maps. (William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London.) *China and its Future, in the Light of the Antecedents of the Empire: its People and their Institutions*, by JAMES JOHNSTON, author of "China and Formosa," illustrated. (Elliot Stock, Paternoster Row, London.) *A History of British India*, vol. i.: *To the overthrow of the English in the Spice Archipelago*, by Sir WILLIAM WILSON HUNTER, K.C.S.I., M.A., LL.D., a Vice-president of the Royal Asiatic Society—a fascinating and invaluable work. Dedicated by permission to H.M. Queen Victoria. (Longmans, Green and Co., London.) *A History of Japanese Literature*, by W. G. ASTON, C.M.G., D.LIT., late Japanese Secretary to H.M. Legation, Tokio. (William Heinemann.) *Under the African Sun: A Description of Native Races in Uganda, Sporting Adventures, and other Experiences*, by W. J. ANSORGE, M.A., LL.D., late Senior Professor at the Royal College of Mauritius, Medical Officer of H.M. Government in Uganda, with illustrations, photographs, and coloured plates. (William Heinemann, London.) *A Marriage in China*, by Mrs. ARCHIBALD LITTLE (A. E. N. BEWICKE). (William Heinemann, London.)

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

India : NORTH-WEST FRONTIER.—The Panjab Government despatched a force to Gomatti, a village near Bannu, within the tribal border, with the object of capturing a band of outlaws. Seven men were captured, but on retiring the force lost 6 killed and 14, including 2 officers, wounded. On a force again advancing, the place was found deserted, when the towers and defences were destroyed.

Captain Roos-Keppel, the political officer at Kuram, on March 1st effected a successful night-surprise of sections of the Chamkanni tribe, who had been raiding the Kuram Valley. He destroyed village defences, took 100 prisoners and 3,000 cattle, and returned to Kuram with his force without a casualty.

Captain Trench, the political officer at Ladak, reports that the Indian trade viâ Kashmir with Tibet and Chinese and Russian Turkestan has decreased, and urges that a fresh field should be sought in the development of regular commercial relations with Tibet.

GENERAL.—Lord Curzon of Kedleston, formally assumed his official duties as Governor-General on 6th January at Calcutta, and Lord Elgin left.

In replying to an address from the Bengal Native Chamber of Commerce, Lord Curzon referred to the importance of currency reform as a first step towards the economic and commercial revival of India, and contrasted unfavourably the mercantile and industrial enterprise of Bengal with that of Bombay.

Sir A. P. MacDonnell, Governor of the N.W. Provinces, replying to an address from the Municipality of Agra, severely censured their mismanagement of local finances, and intimated that, though reluctant to supersede the municipality, he felt it necessary to appoint a secretary who would carry out the necessary reforms.

The Indian Contract Act Amending Bill was passed by the Legislative Council, the native members cordially approving the objects of the measure. The new Act confers upon the Courts powers to protect all persons from bargains unfairly contracted, including those between ryots and money-lenders.

The Government has passed a Bill imposing countervailing duties upon bounty-fed sugar.

THE BUDGET.—The accounts for 1897-98 closed with a deficit of Rx. 5,630,000. The Revised Estimate for 1898-99 shows a surplus of Rx. 4,760,000. The Budget Estimate for 1899-1900 anticipates a surplus of Rx. 3,930,000. Almost every department of revenue has improved during the current year, and in almost every department of expenditure there is a saving; but in consequence of the plague there is, above the Estimate, an excess of Rx. 330,000.

The brother and alleged accomplice of Damodar Chapekar, who was executed for the murder of Lieut. Ayerst and Mr. Rand, has been arrested

in the Nizam's territory. Two Brahmins, who were the principal witnesses against Chapekar, were killed in Poona on February 8th.

Nawab Sir Ahsanullah Khan, of Dacca, is appointed an Additional Member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council in succession to Mr. Joy Gobind Law.

The Rev. H. Whitehead has been appointed Bishop of Madras, and the Rev. G. A. Lefroy, Bishop of Lahore.

The National Congress was held early in January at Madras.

The Indian Plague Commissioners are still occupied in taking evidence in all the chief towns. The epidemic rages in various places, and is especially severe in the Bombay Presidency.

NATIVE STATES.—The late Maharaja of Darbhanga, whose death we noticed in our last issue, having left no son, has been succeeded by his younger brother, Rameswar Singh Bahadur, a man of learning and accomplishments. The new Maharaja was installed by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal on 23rd January, and has been since elected a member of the Imperial Legislative Council.

The Raja of Bhinga has invested a sum of one lakh of rupees in Government Securities to be held by the Treasurer of Charitable Endowments, for the endowment of a Poor Asylum at Benares, to be called the Bhinga Raj Anathalaya. The Institution is for the benefit of the poor and decrepit of all classes, irrespective of caste or creed.

His Highness the Maharaja of Benares has given to the Hindu College at Benares, of which he is a patron, land and buildings to the value of over half a lakh of rupees.

BURMA.—The delimitation of the Burmo-Chinese frontier is practically completed, Kokang alone remaining, which will present no difficulty. The British force has returned to Bhamo. The result is that the frontier from the River Namyang, which runs due east, now adds to the Northern Shan States several hundred square miles not included by the line laid down by the agreement of 1897.

It has been decided to establish a Chief Court for Lower Burma.

CEYLON.—Sir J. West Ridgeway, the Governor, on the 1st March cut the first sod of the Colombo graving dock, the largest between Malta and Hong Kong. It will accommodate first-class battleships, and will be completed in five years. There is no plague, and the island is prosperous.

AFGHANISTAN.—The Amir has addressed a complaint to the Indian Government respecting a raid of Waziris into his territory. He held a public Durbar on 25th February, and was then in excellent health.

BALUCHISTAN.—In February, at Sibi, a *Ghazi* attacked Captain Spence, the Political Agent, and his wife. Both escaped injury. The *Ghazi* was shot dead by the mounted police.

PERSIA.—The port of Lingah in the Persian Gulf, which was for some time in the possession of an Arab Sheikh, has been retaken by the Daryā Beghi (Admiral) Governor of Bushire. The Arab losses were 120. The Sheikh escaped.

MUSCAT.—On information being received by the Indian Government that the Sultan of Muscat had leased to France as a coaling station the port

of Jisseh, on the Muscat coast, Admiral Douglas was ordered to Muscat. Under threat of bombardment, the Sultan cancelled the treaty, and publicly repudiated the French agreement.

TURKEY IN ASIA.—In Yemen the Turkish troops have gained a victory over the insurgents, and appear to be settling in the military posts which have been taken from the rebels.

Public security in the *vilayet* of Aidin is seriously compromised by the Cretan Muhammadans, of whom 3,000 are settled in the province, and are committing outrages and depredations. They are terrorizing the whole population, and the local authorities seem to be helpless.

Serious disturbances have occurred at Jeddah in consequence of the issue of a sanitary order forbidding pilgrims for Mecca.

The plague has appeared at Mecca, and is attributable to the breach of quarantine regulations at Jeddah.

RUSSIA IN ASIA.—The Tsar has granted the Russian Geographical Society the sum of 42,000 roubles towards the fitting out of a scientific expedition to Central Asia.

The plague at Samarkand is dying out. A great number of people have been carried off by the disease. A triple cordon is still maintained around the infected district.

PHILIPPINES.—The Filipinos have repeatedly attacked the Americans at Manila, but on each occasion were repulsed with loss.

General Miller on February 11th took Iloilo by assault.

Spanish officials are negotiating with the insurgents for the liberation of the Spanish prisoners.

SAMOA.—After a protracted investigation into the claims of the various rival claimants for the Samoan Kingship, Mr. Chambers, the Chief Justice, decided in favour of Malietoa Tana. The followers of Mataafa (who, as may be remembered, was banished to the Marshall Islands in 1893 for rebellion against the late King Malietoa) refused to acquiesce in the decision, and, being supported by the German Consul, forcibly drove out Malietoa and his chief adherents, who took refuge on a British warship. The incident caused considerable friction at the time, owing to the action of the German Consul, Dr. Raffel, in opposing Mr. Chambers, but fortunately the three protecting Powers have considered the matter very quietly. The good feeling between Great Britain and the United States has again had an excellent opportunity of displaying itself. Mataafa is provisionally recognised as *de facto* sovereign. The population is reported to desire annexation to Great Britain, and the same view has been expressed by Mr. Chambers, who is an American citizen.

CHINA.—At the commencement of the year, floods, due to the bursting of the Yellow River, caused great distress in Shan-tung.

The number of entries and clearances of British vessels at the treaty ports during 1897 was 21,140, representing a total cargo value of 509,554,292 taels, as against 464 of those of French vessels carrying goods valued at 19,398,201 taels.

The total foreign Customs revenue for 1898 amounted to 22,500,000 taels, or 250,000 taels less than 1897. This is exclusive of near *likin* stations, which yielded 5,000,000 taels.

A British syndicate has obtained a concession for a railway from Han-kau to Canton, a distance of 800 miles.

At the end of last December the Tsung-li-Yamên made an official declaration to Sir Claude Macdonald that the Government would not alienate or part with any of the railways named in the Northern Railway Extension contract to any foreign Power.

The Tsung-li-Yamên has agreed to open as a treaty port Nan-ning, on the Yu-kiang, near the Tongking frontier, and has consented to pay \$30,000 as compensation to the relatives of Mr. Fleming, the missionary who was murdered.

On February 20th a conflict took place at Ta lien-wan between Russians and Chinese. It arose on the question of taxes. About 100 Chinese were killed.

The Russian Minister has renewed in peremptory terms his protest against the conditions of the Northern Railway loan. The British Government has emphatically declared that the contract cannot be altered, and has undertaken to assist China if aggressive measures should be attempted.

Italy has made a demand for the lease of Sammun Bay, and her efforts have been diplomatically supported by Great Britain. The Tsung-li-Yâmên returned the letter containing the proposal and, for a moment, affairs seemed rather critical, especially when it appeared that Signor Martino, the Italian Minister, had presented an ultimatum. It turned out, however, that he had acted in excess of his instructions, and Admiral Canevaro, acting with great promptitude and correctness, at once ordered his recall, and left the due representation of Italian interests temporarily in the hands of Sir Claude Macdonald.

JAPAN.—A Bill to increase the Land Tax has passed the Lower House of the Japanese Diet, fixing the rate at $3\frac{1}{3}$ per cent.

A severe earthquake occurred on March 7th, affecting the same localities as suffered from the great shock of 1891. Loss of life and property is reported.

BRITISH NORTH BORNEO.—Mr. L. P. Beaufort, the Governor, had a friendly interview with Mat Salleh, and has settled his dispute with the Tamboonans. This tribe had, hitherto, repudiated the Company's rule, but has now submitted and promised to pay taxes.

BRITISH NEW GUINEA.—The Premiers of New South Wales, Queensland, and Victoria have agreed to discontinue their subsidies towards the cost of administration of British New Guinea from the present month.

EGYPT.—The European Powers have accepted the prolongation of the Mixed Tribunals for one year from February 1st last.

In consequence of a grant made by the Public Debt Commission, the Government has been enabled to reduce the land tax by £221,000. The reduction is to continue for nine years.

The Budget for 1898 shows a surplus of £496,000, while the estimates had anticipated only an equilibrium.

The Khedivah having been delivered of a son, great rejoicing took place at the birth of an heir to the Khedive.

SUDAN.—Major Marchand and the French expedition evacuated Fashoda in December last and proceeded to the coast viâ Abyssinia.

A Dervish force under Ahmed Fedil was attacked at the end of December on an island in the Nile, south of Khartum, by Colonel Lewis; 500 of the enemy were killed, their position taken, and 1,500 made prisoners. The British lost 27 killed, and 124 wounded including Major Fergusson of the Grenadier Guards and six officers of the Egyptian army. The remnant of the enemy surrendered to the gunboat "Metemmeh" on the Blue Nile, but Ahmed Fedil himself succeeded in escaping southward.

Lord Cromer laid the foundation stone of the Gordon Memorial College at Khartum on January 5th. He afterwards addressed a body of sheikhs and notables at Omdurman. In his speech on the occasion, he said its object would not be to Anglicize the Sudanese, but to provide mental training and useful, practical knowledge. The teaching would, as far as possible, be in Arabic, and wholly undenominational. He also pointed out the benefits which they would derive from British rule, and assured them that their religion would not be interfered with, and that justice would be impartially administered.

An agreement laying down the principles which will guide the future administration of the Sudan was signed in Cairo on January 19th by Lord Cromer and the Egyptian Foreign Minister. The following are the principal items:—The word "Sudan" means all territories south of the 22nd parallel of latitude which have never been evacuated by the Egyptian troops since 1882, or having been temporarily lost, have been reconquered by H.M.'s Government and the Egyptian Government in concert, or which may hereafter be reconquered by the two Governments. The British and Egyptian flags shall be used together throughout the Sudan, except in the town of Suakin where the Egyptian alone shall be used. The supreme military and civil command to be vested in a Governor-General, to be appointed by Khedivial decree. Laws for the good government of the Sudan may be made, altered, or abrogated, from time to time, by the Governor-General. No Egyptian law or enactment shall apply to the Sudan, save in so far as the same shall be applied by proclamation of the Governor-General. No Consuls, or Consular Agents shall be accredited in respect of the Sudan without the previous consent of H.M.'s Government. The importation of slaves to be absolutely prohibited.

A Khedivial decree has been published appointing the Sirdar, Lord Kitchener, to be Governor-General of the Sudan. The country has been divided into four first-class and three second-class districts. Major-General Hunter has been appointed Governor of Omdurman, Lieut.-Colonel Lewis Governor of Sennar, and Lieut.-Colonel Jackson Governor of Fashoda.

The Sudan Budget for 1899 shows receipts £E39,500, and expenditure £E356,755. The deficit will be provided from the receipts of Egypt proper.

The Duke of Connaught laid the foundation stone at Assuan on February 12, of the embankment for the Nile reservoirs, and with the Duchess paid a visit to Khartum and Omdurman, where they reviewed the troops 9,000 strong under the command of the Sirdar. They were received with great enthusiasm.

The Khalifa is still in Kordofan. He appears to have with him a

considerable force, and has made many fierce raids on local Arabs. In view of possible contingencies, the various officers appointed to Sudanese commands have been recalled to their posts.

A convention was signed on 21st March delimiting the British and French spheres. Britain retains the Bahr-el-Ghazel and Dar Fur, while France keeps Wadai and Bagirmi. From the Nile to Lake Chad the two Powers mutually concede equal treatment in commercial matters.

BRITISH EAST AFRICA AND UGANDA.—Bilal Effendi, the leader of the recent mutiny, and the murderer of Major Thruston and other Englishmen, has been killed in action, and the mutineers who were broken up and dispersed, are being pursued. The Macdonald expedition has arrived at Mombasa on its return from the interior.

A famine is prevalent in several large districts of the Protectorate, the recent crops having been destroyed by locusts.

SOUTH AFRICA: CAPE COLONY.—The British South Africa Company closed its agencies at the Cape on the 1st January last.

The provisions of the Customs Union Convention came into operation on January 3.

The imports for the past year amounted to £16,682,438, and the exports to £25,318,701. Upwards of £15,000,000 of exports consisted of gold. Goods to the Transvaal came to £3,130,075, and to other territories outside the Customs Union £544,713.

As the result of the Stellebosch election petition, Sir J. Sivewright has been unseated.

WEST AFRICA.—Sir Ralph Moor took up his duties as Consul-General for the NIGER COAST PROTECTORATE in January last.

Operations in the Asaba *Hinterland* were brought to a successful termination in January. All the towns submitted. Ibu and Ukara were destroyed. Captain Burdon and his officers have returned to Lokoja.

SIERRA LEONE.—Severe fighting on the northern frontier of the Protectorate has taken place between the Frontier Force, supported by the West African Regiment, and insurgent tribes. The enemy having been repulsed, the town of Yebema was occupied.

Sir William Macgregor, K.C.M.G., has been appointed Governor of LAGOS.

MOROCCO.—The Moorish Government has offered to settle the claims of British merchants and others on account of the disturbances in the M'zab district in 1896 by paying 75 per cent. of the amount claimed.

The final indemnity to the Portuguese and Italian Governments has been paid on account of the attack by the Riff pirates last year.

CANADA.—The Dominion Government has offered to contribute an equal share with the Imperial Government of the cost of construction of the Pacific cable, the joint obligation not to exceed five-ninths of the whole cost. The Australasian Colonies have undertaken to contribute the balance.

The revenue for the last six months of 1898 was \$22,113,378, being an increase of \$4,179,000.

Since the institution of the penny postage rate, correspondence with England has more than doubled.

The Nova Scotian Assembly has adopted a resolution to memorialize the Imperial Government on the subject of amending the British North America Act, in order to secure the reform of the Canadian Senate, so that in case of disagreement between the Commons and the Senate, the Governor-General may call for a joint ballot of both Houses.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—It has been suggested that the French treaty rights should be bought out, which apparently receives universal approval.

The French at St. Pierre have not prosecuted the bank fishing this season to the same extent as formerly, in order to avoid friction with England.

The herring fishery on the southern coast has been very successful.

Lieutenant-Colonel Sir H. E. McCallum, R.E., K.C.M.G., has been appointed Governor.

The sealing fleet, composed of nineteen steamers and carrying 4,000 men, started on the 10th March. It was visited previously by the Governor, who inspected every ship, including the rations and quarters, and afterwards addressed about 3,000 sealers in an eloquent speech which was much appreciated.

NEW SOUTH WALES.—The revenue for the December quarter of 1898 shows an increase of £153,689, as compared with the corresponding period of 1897. The Right Honourable Earl Beauchamp has been appointed Governor and Commander in-Chief. The Legislative Assembly has passed the Federal Bill without amendment.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.—Both Houses of Parliament passed early in March the Federal Enabling Bill without a division.

QUEENSLAND.—The Legislative Assembly was dissolved in February, and a new Parliament is summoned to meet on May 2nd. The value of the exports last year was £10,079,000, an increase of £1,852,000 as compared with 1897. The imports reached a total value of £5,880,000, showing an increase of £519,000. A good rainfall has occurred in the southern and central districts.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.—The export of gold amounted last year to £3,991,000, as compared with £2,571,000 in 1897.

Last year's revenue amounted to £2,605,000.

NEW ZEALAND.—The imports last year amounted in value to £8,230,529, and the exports to £10,523,290. A reduction is to be made in railway charges in view of the increasing railway revenue. A reduction is being considered of a penny in the inland postage, which means a sacrifice of about £70,000. The surplus revenue for the year ending March, 1899, is estimated at £500,000. The revenue for the ten months ended January, 1899, showed an increase of £157,000 over the corresponding period of 1897.

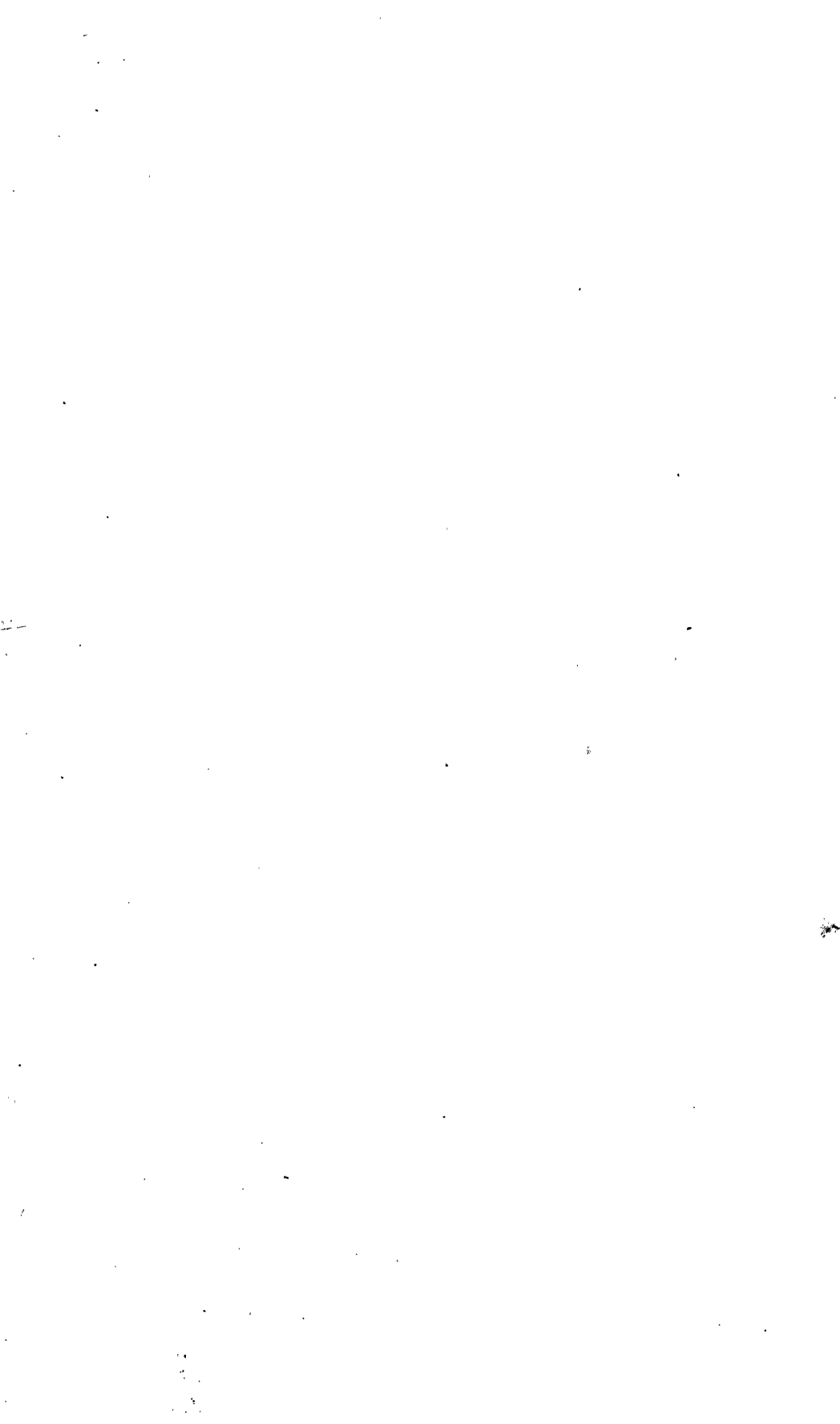
Obituary.—The deaths have been recorded this quarter of:—Lord Napier and Ettrick, formerly Governor of Madras;—Professor A. A. Kanthack, a member of the Leprosy Commission in India in 1895;—Major-General H. W. H. Dumaesq, late R.E. (Crimea);—Major A. V. O'Brien (Zulu war 1879);—Major-General W. Rose, late Madras Staff

Corps (Gumsur 1847, Rajahmundry 1857);—Surgeon-General L. S. Bruce, late Indian M.S. (Persia, Mutiny, Afghanistan 1880);—Colonel St. George Caulfeild, late Madras Staff Corps (North Canara campaign);—Colonel G. S. Hills, Indian Staff Corps (Afghanistan 1879-80);—Colonel G. A. Milman, R.A. (Crimea);—General F. Schneider, late Bombay s.c. (Southern Mahratta campaign 1844-45, Mutiny);—Lieut.-General Sir H. E. Weare, K.C.B. (Panjab, Crimea, New Zealand 1863-66);—Mr. C. J. Rogers, for 20 years Principal of the Amritsar Training College;—Colonel A. C. Nightingale, late 93rd Highlanders (Crimea, Mutiny, Yusefzai campaign);—Sir James Mouat, K.C.B., V.C., Honorary Surgeon to the Queen (Crimea, Maori wars);—Lieut.-Colonel J. Jameson, late 19th Regt. (Hazara, Black Mountain 1868, campaigns);—Mr. E. J. Dean, late Supt. of Government Printing in India;—Captain A. W. Baker, West Africa Frontier Field Force (Sudan Frontier 1885-86);—Mr. W. Burgess Pryer, British Consular Agent at Sandakan, British North Borneo;—Captain F. Shelton, late 98th and 93rd Regts. (China, Panjāb);—Major-General F. Spence, C.B. (Crimea, China 1860-62);—Captain R. T. Kirkpatrick, D.S.O. at Nakwai, Central Africa;—Colonel W. G. Andrewes, late R.H.A. (Crimea);—Brigade-Surgeon Lieut.-Colonel R. Pringle, M.D., late Indian Army;—The Right Rev. T. Earle Welby, Bishop of St. Helena;—**S. Winter-Parker**, Paymaster-in-Chief R.N. (China 1855-58);—Surgeon-General J. Macbeth (Sutlej 1845-46, Panjāb 1848-49);—Admiral John Hay (China 1840-41);—General Annenkoff, the energetic constructor of the Russian military railway from the Caspian to Samarkand; Brigade-Surgeon Lieut.-Colonel H. Johnstone, late I.M.S.;—General J. Gordon, C.B. (Afghanistan 1842, Sutlej and Mutiny campaigns);—General J. C. Brooke, I.S.C., formerly 63rd Bengal N.I. (Rajputana);—Colonel W. C. Mackinnon (Mutiny campaign);—Sir Alfred Roberts, an eminent member of the medical profession in Australia;—Major-General W. R. E. Alexander, formerly Bengal s.c. (Panjāb 1848-49, Burma 1852-53, Sonthal and Mutiny);—Colonel F. Ryley (Afghanistan 1878-79);—Major-General W. H. Smith, late Bengal s.c. (Panjāb 1848-49, Mutiny campaign);—Colonel R. W. Aldworth, J.P., D.L. (Crimea, Mutiny);—Lieut.-Colonel H. Leake (New Zealand war 1863-65);—Hon. E. J. Weld-Forester, retired Colonel 13th Regt. (Afghan war 1838-42);—Nubar Pasha, a distinguished Egyptian statesman;—Lieut.-General G. A. Arbuthnot, late Madras L.I. (Mutiny);—Lieut.-Colonel G. C. Synge (Mutiny);—Colonel M. J. J. Mignon, late I.S.C. (Mutiny);—Colonel H. A. Ouvry, C.B. (Panjāb 1848-49, Mutiny);—Major-General W. H. Hessey, Madras s.c.;—Lieut.-Colonel J. Joyner (Crimea, Mutiny campaign);—Sir L. A. Kershaw, Q.C., Chief Justice of Bombay High Court of Judicature;—Captain J. H. Vanderzee, Burma Military Police;—S. R. L. Playfair, Madras Artillery 1846, Political Agent, Zanzibar, and afterwards Consul-General Algeria;—Colonel E. A. Noel (Sutlej campaign 1845-46); Lieut.-General Sir C. E. Nairne, K.C.B. (Mutiny campaign, Yusefzai 1863, Afghan war 1878-79, Egypt 1882);—Lieut.-Colonel R. F. H. Macgregor (Mutiny, China 1860);—Maulānā Hāfiz Ahmad Sāhib, the spiritual head of the Mussalmans in Bengal;—Right Rev. H. I. Matthew, Bishop of Lahore;—

Major-General F. Gadsden (Burma 1852 and Mutiny);—Captain the Hon. R. F. Somerset, late West Africa Frontier Force;—Major J. S. Richer (Mutiny campaign, N.W. Frontier 1864);—Lieut.-General H. G. Woods (Crimea);—H. F. Wüstenfeld, an Oriental scholar;—Baron de Reuter, the founder of the Great International Telegraphic News Agency;—The Right Rev. H. Bree, Bishop of Barbados;—Colonel W. W. Egerton (Burma 1885-87);—Surgeon-Major J. Bowron, the patriarch of the Indian Medical Service;—Dr. F. N. Macnamara, Indian Medical Service;—Commander F. G. Dundas, late R.N., formerly Imperial British East Africa Company and of the Niger Coast Protectorate, recently Naval Adviser to the Chinese Government;—Colonel A. J. D. Hawes, D.S.O., I.S.C. (Tumloong, Bezoti, Jowaki, Zaimusht, Zhob Valley and Hazara expeditions);—Professor Heymann Steinthal, a distinguished philologist;—Sir Julius Vogel, the well-known New Zealand Financier and former Premier;—Nawab Sâdiq Muḥammad, the foremost feudatory of the Government in the Panjâb;—Surgeon Major-General W. Marshall Webb (Crimea);—Depy. Inspector-General J. Jee, C.B., V.C., Hon. Surgeon to the Queen (Persia 1857, Mutiny);—Colonel J. Murray, C.B., late 94th Foot (Zulu war 1879);—Lieut.-Colonel E. H. le Marchant, Hampshire Regt. (Afghan war 1878-80).

24th March, 1899.





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